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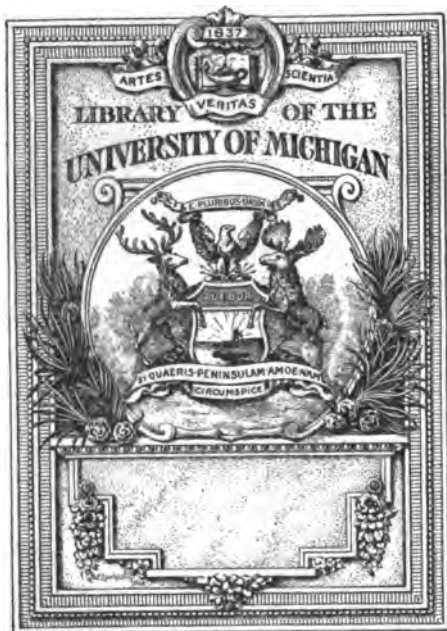
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Our Day

A RECORD AND REVIEW

OF

CURRENT REFORM

JOSEPH COOK, EDITOR

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF EMINENT SPECIALISTS IN
REFORM, AT HOME AND ABROAD

Via Lucis, Via Crucis

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OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NEW JAPAN.

THE men who planned and carried out the revolution of 1868 are still at the helm of state in Japan, conscious of having already accomplished a herculean task, ripened with the experience of years, and sobered by the hard fact that theoretical right cannot always have its own way, and that practical politics are not always synonymous with national aspirations. On the other hand, a new generation has sprung up, bred in the new atmosphere prevailing since the revolution, ignorant of the hole of the pit whence they were digged, educated in the modern schools, mentally nourished by the literature of the West, aspiring after the freedom of English nations, angered at the humiliating incubus of unrighteous treaty provisions, indignant at the abortive attempts of the government to revise the treaties, and ready at a moment's notice to reconstruct the statesmanship of the empire by means of recipes learned in the schools and copied out of Western books. But the difficulty is that they have scarcely passed out of their teens, and have had no practical experience in politics. There are in reality no conservatives as such, all are for reform; but the "Kōslim," or distinguished citizens, who are in control, wish to go only as rapidly as the country can use the new reforms properly, and as fast as the outside world will let them; but the "Sōshi," or enterprising youths, who would like to control affairs according to their

new philosophy, wish to go with a bound to the top of the ladder. These are the two great dividing armies, although of course there are numerous sections, running from the borders of conservatism down to the apostles of the dagger and dynamite. There is something mournful as well as ridiculous in the attempts of gangs of school-boys who think themselves wiser than their fathers, wiser than the statesmen to whom they owe their schools, to force open by assault the offices and residences of gray-haired cabinet ministers and instruct them in the right methods of government! The race of politicians who seek to overturn the government by sedition and assassination, who raised the standard of triple rebellion and just ten years ago slew the patriot statesman Okubo in the streets of Tokio, is not yet extinct, and furnishes an unscrupulous leadership to the hosts of unbaked students, inciting them to add the dagger to their arguments from school-books.

To understand the political problems and the political progress of Japan, one must dismiss from view the English or American standard and look at these topics from the unique position of Japan alone. She is situated as no nation ever was before. There is that ever-present problem of treaty revision with seventeen nations combined in one, *vis-à-vis* this empire, but with no other bond of union. Thus far it has been impossible to bring them to one mind, and treaty revision has been impossible. Then it must not be forgotten that Japan is not yet a generation removed from feudal times. Although she has adopted wholesale the externals of advanced Christian civilization, that which has come to the Anglo-Saxon through centuries of growth and accumulation of varied powers cannot be put into the fibre of even the Japanese nation in the short space of two or three decades. An observant Englishman or American in Germany, for instance, that teacher and leader of nations, could not help feeling that the free institutions of Anglo-Saxondom would, if placed suddenly upon Germans, produce a harvest of anarchy and disaster. Japan can hardly be expected to have caught up with Germany, much less be on a par with England. Government is certainly for the people, but a government by this people would be a government by

political children for political children. This government is and must be necessarily a paternal government; it is not the outcome of popular vote and the expression of the voice of the majority in any such way as is understood in America, but it has inaugurated a new era for the people, releasing them from the bondage of feudalism and pointing them to the highest political goal of popular freedom; it now leads the way in this development as fast as the land can possibly bear it. The world has looked on with astonishment at the transformation thus far accomplished in so short a time, coupled with the fact that the reforms appear to be neither superficial nor ephemeral.

Let it be understood that the constitution now almost framed, and parliamentary privileges to be given in 1890, are not and cannot be the outcome of a consensus of freemen, formed for themselves like the constitution of the United States, for instance, but the free gift of an emperor, son of the most ancient dynasty now reigning, through his noblest subjects, to the mass of the people, who have just emerged from the Egyptian bondage of feudalism, and who have but just learned the first lessons of personal freedom. At first the progress was too fast. A free press and platform were given. But very soon newspapers and pamphlets teemed with sedition, personal slander, moral filth, a veritable riot of literature, while the platform became the centre of political intrigues. Looking at it from the standpoint of actual facts on the field rather than from that of free America, no one can be surprised that the government found that a mistake had been made in giving Japan liberties intrusted to no people outside of Anglo-Saxondom. Press and platform were at once muzzled. It was a matter of regret, but the people themselves were to blame; better forbid children playing with edged tools for a while until they can use them without injury to themselves and to others. The result was that the tone of the press very greatly improved, and it was hoped that a larger liberty would soon be granted, a hope which has not been disappointed. In the same way the government has frequently found it necessary to take steps which were theoretically retrograde, but which were thought to be made advisable in the circumstances by the exigencies of the case. No

one could know the need of the hour as well as the statesmen at the head of affairs, for men more progressive, with sounder judgment, could not be found in the empire. While of course extremists who were thus extinguished were exasperated beyond bounds, the proper attitude of foreigners was surely to trust the men in power who had proved themselves such actual leaders of reform, and whose acts of repression bore no trace of old Orientalism, but could be more than duplicated in European politics.

During the year that has elapsed since writing my last outline of the situation in Japan, several events have occurred which have shown the ever-recurring difficulties in the way of Japanese statesmanship, and will also throw light on the manner of development amid a ferment of opinion in this formative period of the empire. There being here as yet no parliamentary tribune for national questions, the acts of the cabinet are practically final, hence every cabinet change is watched with intense interest as producing national effects. The first important ripple on the surface of the stream of progress was the retirement of Viscount Tani from the administration. Viscount Tani, the hero of Kumamoto, had shown himself a brave soldier and intrepid leader in arms, and was universally recognized as a man of sterling integrity and frugality. He had made a trip abroad, and the country was curious to know what the result would be in his political policy and what its influence on the cabinet. Shortly after his return he formulated his thoughts in a memorial to his colleagues, which memorial, though a secret state paper, by some means or other got into the hands of the public and aroused considerable excitement in the ranks of the opposition. So far as the memorial was concerned, it showed clearly enough that the honest old soldier was a novice in statesmanship and no fit colleague in this intricate time for the men who for years had had large experience in practical politics. The impression most deeply sunk into his mind as the result of his tour was that of the sovereignty of the state,—state autonomy regardless of outsiders. And no matter how much we may sympathize with the theory and mourn that Japan's sovereignty is trampled upon by treaty powers, it must be considered

a misfortune that in the midst of the conferences for treaty revision a document should emanate from a cabinet minister calculated to inflame the prejudices of the rabble against the policy of the government, which seemed almost within reach of its object. He charged the cabinet with framing their codes and shaping their general policy, simply to please the Western nations and purchase treaty revision. Nothing could be more misleading. The policy all along has been a reform on Western models for the sake of the country itself — treaty revision or no treaty revision. Viscount Tani's memorial amounted to a charge that the cabinet was purchasing treaty revision by the surrender of a more important sovereign right than anything ceded by the treaties as they now stand. Such a charge emanating from a responsible member of the government could not but discredit the government itself, and create an exaggerated idea of the concessions proposed to be given as the price of treaty revision and of the unjustness of those demands, directly tending to inflame prejudices almost forgotten. Another error of the memorial was of equal gravity; he argued that though extra-territoriality is "disgraceful in name and utterly objectionable in reality," the injury practically inflicted was not so great as to make it necessary to procure its repeal at so great a price. He seems to have seen only the present, and to have been blind to the facts of the very near future when speedy development will produce a very much aggravated situation, with perhaps aggravated difficulties in the way of a settlement. A third idea of the memorial was that the matter of treaty revision might be postponed until the parliament meets, when by a unanimous and distinct expression of popular opinion foreign powers will yield the privileges now held by treaty. These and other points in the memorial made it evident that Viscount Tani's policy being out of harmony with that of the cabinet his further continuance as minister would only be a source of weakness. His place was taken by Viscount Hiji-Kata, and matters went on as before. But the seed sown by the memorial took deep root and speedily bore fruit in new difficulties.

The next important event, and one which in a sense over-

shadows all others, was the retirement of Count Inonye from the cabinet soon after the postponement of the conferences on treaty revision. Political agitation had reached an acute stage early in the fall of 1887, largely the result of Viscount Tani's memorial and the unceasing attacks of leading opposition journals, which in spite of press laws had perfect liberty to express disapprobation, if they chose, of all that could be learned of the policy of the plenipotentiary of Japan at the treaty revision conferences. These agitators seemed determined to maintain their demand for complete immunity from concessions to foreigners, and complete restoration to Japan of all privileges granted foreigners by extra-territoriality. If politics were carried on in accordance with the moral law, there would be some ground for their stand; but as nations treat each other to-day, it is a pure infatuation. Count Inonye had for eight years been working on the line of practical statesmanship, aiming at the complete restoration to Japan of all the rights of a civilized nation, but saw that this must be done gradually and by giving guarantees which would bind the government for a certain number of years, after which time all disabilities should be removed. For these years of probation a certain number of Western experts were to sit on the Japanese bench in special cases, the foreigner was to be allowed to plead in his own tongue, and the codes were to be translated into a Western language. At the end of a fixed number of years Japan was to recover completely her judicial and tariff autonomy. In the mean time, even with these conditions, her position among the nations would have been as daylight to the darkness of her actual condition, her present disabilities would have vanished, and she would have taken her place — first of Orient states — in the ranks of Western civilized nations. Yet these agitators wrought themselves wild in denunciation of these three temporary concessions, as though they were beneath the dignity of Japan! The result was that when Count Inonye had almost accomplished what seemed to be an impossibility in securing harmony in the foreign demand, and the national boon was almost within grasp, the cabinet felt that it was wiser in face of this public opinion to close the treaty revision conferences until all her codes were

complete, that these guarantees might be rendered needless or be largely modified. Count Inonye's policy being thus set aside, he could not do otherwise than deliver up his portfolio. All friends of Japan mourn the result of the short-sightedness of these inexperienced but honest theorists, who, combined with unscrupulous agitators, brought about this unfortunate sacrifice. Yet the government continued to have the advantage of his counsels as court councilor; and Count Ito, his friend and fellow for so many years, taking his portfolio temporarily, showed that the principles of his policy would still be adhered to, though there might be a change of programme in details. Count Kuroda, in whom the whole country appears to repose confidence, accepted a portfolio, and the strength of the cabinet remained unimpaired; temporarily satisfying the shallow theorists but disappointing the political agitators who simply want the ins out and the outs in.

The next subject on which political agitation came to the point of effervescence was the character of the constitution now in process of formation. It came to be understood that the gift was not to be all at once in the form of the highest known type of Anglo-Saxon liberty, but rather in that of the moderately liberal constitutionalism of Germany. Again Count Ito and his colleagues were hounded with extravagant criticisms and demands, combined with threats of assassination. Eventually, towards the close of the year, a number of disaffected youths gathered in the capital, having sworn not to return to their homes until the cabinet should be overthrown and a more liberal policy inaugurated. Failing in this, they began to plot against the lives of the members of the government. The administration was kept apprised of all their movements by the watchful police, who had ample documentary evidence; and so, to put a stop to the thing before it could assume serious proportions, the Imperial Rescript of Christmas Day was issued, ordering 475 young men to return to their homes, or at least to leave the city of Tokio. Twelve of these refused to comply, and were sentenced to a short term in jail without hard labor. The police were for a few days particularly alert; at the time proposed for an outbreak a detachment of soldiers was kept in

readiness. The move was completely successful; no harm was done to anybody; and an irresponsible crowd of shallow young men was prevented from committing a grave crime. This is the whole story of the event at the close of the year which has been called a "revolution" in America, and which some hysterical madman has elaborated in the New York "Nation" into a most insane fiction. It is true that among the suspected parties a few were unjustly removed; the police have, indeed, discretionary power beyond what is desirable; and some mistakes, more comical sometimes than serious, were inevitable; as for instance when one of our evangelists, who was sent to the country just at that particular time, was shadowed for weeks by the police and prevented from holding any meeting whatsoever because he bore the same name as one of the suspects. The whole affair was certainly a shock to Japanese and to foreigners alike, but we outsiders cannot have one tithe of the information in the hands of the government officers, and they know better than any of their critics what is the best to do with their own people. At any rate the thing was a sudden and temporary move to meet an emergency, and was completely successful. To show that it did not indicate a reaction in the policy of the enlightened administration, the measures of reform of the press laws which had been under consideration were one by one published as they were completed, just as if nothing had happened to stay the steady flow of progress — and nothing had appeared but a superficial ripple.

Early in the year Count Oxuma reëntered the cabinet and accepted the portfolio of the foreign office. Count Oxuma left the cabinet in 1881, because his colleagues did not seem to move fast enough in the march of reform, and he became the popular leader of the progressive party. But the record of the last seven years of advance has been enough to show that the government is a progressive one. It has come at least to the point which he advocated, prematurely, seven years ago, and perhaps Count Oxuma has learned the value of a steadier pace. At all events he is once more one with his former colleagues, and will perhaps do more than any man in bridging over the interval created between the government and the people by shallow agitation.

Another change in the *personnel* of the cabinet will have an effect in the same direction. Count Ito has laid down the office of minister president of the cabinet and been appointed president of the privy council just called into existence, retaining at the same time a seat in the cabinet. Count Kuroda, who has been thought of for this position for two years past, takes the office of minister president. This has given satisfaction to the most progressive journals, and everybody except irreconcilables seems to be pleased with the new arrangement. The policy marked out by the government suffers no change unless it be in the line of more vigorous progress. Everything shows that the responsible leaders are determined to go as far and as fast as is safe and that nothing will deter them and nothing drive them into undue haste. The late press and other regulations issued early in the year show a strong determination to put down all secret plotting, but to remove restrictions from platform and journalism, encouraging free speech in public on all matters of public interest. Over these new regulations there has been a universal chorus of thanksgiving and joy from every shade of political literature. And now, with the popular leader Kuroda, generally supposed to be of sterner stuff, at the head as minister president, and the equally popular Oxuma in the next place of power, there is no doubt as to internal progress, and it is almost to be hoped that Japan may boldly denounce the antiquated treaties and begin *de novo*, treating with individual nations and not with a compact of diplomats.

C. S. EBY.

Tokio, Japan, June 1, 1888.

ARE DETECTIVE MEASURES JUSTIFIABLE?

UNDER the head of "Special to the World," May 28, 1888, appeared an article in the New York "World" on that date, in which it was announced that "Judge Spier in the United States District Court in Macon, Ga., yesterday, held that decoy letters sent out to catch postal officials were not such letters as the law contemplates, when it punishes those who tamper with them. . . . When the evidence was all in, Judge Spier ordered the jury to bring in a verdict of 'not guilty,' as the bogus character of the letter affected the entire proceeding. This will break up a very common practice among the post office detectives."

Without attempting to pass upon what actually took place in that court, but taking the foregoing for my text, I beg to present some facts which would seem to controvert the decision of Judge Spier, if the newspaper report is correct. If the report is true, then his decision removes from the officers and inspectors of the Post Office Department the only means they have of detecting dishonesty among employees of the department.

The object of this paper is not to criticise Judge Spier, but is intended to show to the public that this principle is wrong, and that Judge Spier is singularly alone in the position which he takes.

June 5, Judge Billings, in the United States *Circuit* Court at New Orleans, took an entirely different view of the law, and very wisely ruled that "a 'test' or 'decoy' letter is defined to be a sealed package addressed by one person to another and placed in the mail; that such a letter, if really intrusted to the mail, is a letter within the meaning of the criminal law, and any person stealing such a letter violates the law. When honestly used by officers of the government, such letters are a

necessity, in order to separate the guilty from the innocent when many are under suspicion."

Judge Billings then very tersely says: "No right-minded person ever attempted to destroy the decoy of Solomon, which by a threat of destruction of the child, appealing to the affections, induced the real mother, as well as the impostor, to declare herself."

It is not my purpose to discuss whether an envelope, sealed, with a postage stamp upon it, addressed to a name and post office, and deposited in the mail, is, or is not, a letter within the meaning of the act of Congress. I simply present for the information of intelligent readers two sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States bearing upon this subject. Section 5467 declares:—

Any person employed in any department of the postal service who shall secrete, embezzle, or destroy any letter . . . intrusted to him, or which shall come into his possession, and which was intended to be conveyed in the mail, . . . and which shall contain any note . . . or other pecuniary obligation, any such person who shall steal or take any of the things aforesaid out of any letter which shall come into his possession, shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not less than one year nor more than five years.

The question arises: "Is an envelope which bears the address of a person and post office, with the necessary postage upon it, placed in the mails, 'a letter to be conveyed in the mail,' within the meaning of the law?"

Section 5468 answers this question in full, when it says:—

The fact that any letter has been deposited in any post office, or branch post office, established by authority of the Postmaster General, or any other authorized depository for mail-matter, or in charge of any postmaster, or assistant clerk, carrier, agent, or messenger employed in any department of the postal service, shall be evidence that the same was intended to be conveyed in the mail within the meaning in the two preceding sections.

Section 5469 provides a penalty. "Any person who shall take from out of any mail, post office, etc., or who shall, without the consent of the person having custody thereof, open, embezzle, or destroy any mail or letter, shall be punished by the same penalties as provided in section 5467."

There is an ignominy unjustly attached to the enforcement of postal laws by means of what are commonly called "decoy" letters, but which Judge Billings has correctly named "test" letters. Honest officials do not use "decoy" letters, but they do use "test" letters, and the distinction is very broad. For illustration: a complaint comes to the department, or some inspector or postmaster, that along a certain route of the railway mail service, or at a certain post office, some person is systematically robbing the mails.

All the circumstances are considered and weighed by the government official, and suspicion falls upon some individual. He may be guilty or innocent. The officer charged with the detection of this theft has no way of ascertaining who the guilty party is. He writes a letter, which he addresses to some party, or uses a fictitious name. In that letter he places marked money. This letter is properly sealed and addressed, the necessary postage is placed thereon, and then it is placed in the mails for mailing and delivery. In the ordinary course of business, this letter, among others containing remittances, comes into the hands of the party suspected. The thief having satisfied himself that the letter contains a remittance (not knowing that it is the "test" letter of the officer), opens it, and appropriates the money.

Will any right-minded man say that the officer used a "decoy"? He simply used a letter within the meaning of the law, as is set out in the sections above referred to—a "test" but not a "decoy" letter. Is it not, in every sense of the word, a common-sense method of discerning between honest and dishonest employees of the particular department where the robbery was being conducted? Some employee on that route was using dishonest methods, and the officer places this letter in the mails to see who is the thief, and who the honest man. He does not induce any one to commit a crime, and does not "decoy," or use a "decoy." He mails his letter, follows it to a certain point, and then accomplishes his mission by bringing the real culprit to justice.

The same principle applies to persons advertising obscene matter, and sending out circulars under the sanctity of the seal.

No person is permitted to break the seal, and no person is presumed to know the contents of a sealed envelope. If we stand by and see a vender of obscenity mail one of his circulars, and have a knowledge of the true character of the circular in the envelope before it is deposited in the mails, after once being deposited, if sealed, no one is permitted to interfere with this matter. What is to be done? I reply, by invoking the same principle above set forth, to wit: the officer receives a circular advertising these obscene books, pictures, etc., and he finds in it probable cause to believe that some person is unlawfully using the mails. He uses a "test" letter to test and see if the party really sends out what he says in his circular he will send out. He does not use a "decoy," but simply applies a test.

The courts in England and this country have in the past sustained the principle involved in this discussion. The highest court in this land (the Supreme Court of the United States) in a case where the party was arrested and brought to justice by the use of "test" letters, said:—

While regulations excluding mail cannot be enforced in a way which would require or permit an examination into letters or sealed packages subject to letter postage, without warrant issued upon oath or affirmation, in the search for prohibited matter, they may be enforced upon competent evidence of their violation obtained in other ways, as from the parties receiving the letters or packages. (*Ex parte Jackson*, 6 Otto, 627.)

The United States Circuit Court, in *United States v. Whittier*, says:—

Where the guilty intent to commit has been formed, any person may furnish opportunities, or even lend assistance to the criminal with the commendable purpose of exposing and punishing him. (5 Dillon, 35.)

The same court further says:—

We do not decide that "decoy letters" may not be used to detect persons engaged, or suspected to be engaged, in violating criminal laws, but recognize the doctrine that such letters may be used. . . . When persons are suspected of being engaged in the violation of criminal laws, or intending to commit an offense, it is allowable to resort to detective measures to procure evidence of such violation or inten-

tion. Many frauds upon the postal, revenue, and other laws are of such a secret nature that they can effectually be discovered in no other way. Accordingly, there have been numerous convictions upon evidence procured by means of what are called "decoy letters," that is, letters written and mailed on purpose to detect the offender, and it is no objection to the conviction when the prohibited act has been done, that it was discovered by means of letters specially prepared and mailed by the officers of the government, and addressed to a person who has no actual existence.

The court then cites some fourteen or fifteen cases in support of the foregoing proposition from both the federal and state courts in this country, and the highest courts in England.

One B. Frank Moore having been indicted for sending circulars concerning a lottery through the mails, it was set up by his counsel that there could be no offense as the circulars were sent addressed to a fictitious name. The United States Circuit Court in that case says: —

The offense of sending letters or circulars concerning lotteries through the mail is complete, although the circular in question was sent in reply to letters written by a detective under a fictitious name for no other purpose than to obtain evidence of the commission of the offense. The sending of such matter in answer to a letter from a fictitious person is just as much a violation of the law as if sent to a real person described by the name to which the letter was addressed. The name of the party to whom the letter was addressed is no part of the evidence; but the question is, Did the defendant send through the mails a letter or circular concerning lotteries? (*United States v. Moore*, 19 Fed. Rep. 41.)

This subject is discussed in the Supreme Court of New York in a case entitled, "The Board of Commissioners of Excise of Onondagua, respondents, v. Martin Backus, appellant." The court says, in speaking of detective measures used in that case to secure evidence of guilt: —

The use of "decoy letters" to detect plunderers of the public mails stands upon the same foundation, and has ever been employed without bringing upon those who use these means the imputation either of crime or of participation therein. (29 Howard's Prac. Rep. 41, 42.)

Judge Spier practically rules that detective measures cannot

be employed to bring the secret offenders against the law to justice.

The Court of Appeals of New York, in the case of *People v. Noelkie*, after citing a large number of cases bearing upon the question of detective measures for the purpose of securing evidence against criminals, says : —

It has become a necessity for the suppression of crime to resort to this mode of ascertaining whether a prohibited and criminal act has been committed — the victims of a business which it distinguishes failing in moral courage to complain or appear as witnesses. Without its use many crimes would increase in number, and make the authorities helpless from the absence of such proof as may be required for a conviction.

In *People v. O'Marley*, 18 Ill. 407, it was held : —

We should regret to learn that men are to be denounced as informers and spies who voluntarily or involuntarily denounce and prosecute offenders against the law, order, and morality of society. . . . If men voluntarily or otherwise becoming acquainted with the secret brothels, gambling and drinking hells, with which our cities and villages are sometimes overrun, and our neighbors, and our children are corrupted and ruined, are to lose their veracity and be denounced as informers and spies, for seeking out and bringing these evil practices to light, then are our hopes of protection slight indeed.

In the Molly Maguire cases, which have now passed into history as among the most remarkable cases of murder and rapine known in this country, one of the Pinkerton detectives joined the organization. On the trial of these murderers the defense was set up that the detective who had resorted to detective measures and joined the organization with the laudable purpose of exposing these criminals, and bringing them to justice, was not to be believed under oath, and his testimony could not be received in court. The highest court in Pennsylvania, in that case, held as follows : —

A detective who joins a criminal organization for the purpose of exposing it, and bringing the criminals to punishment, and as such carries out that design, is not an accessory before the fact, although he may have encouraged and counseled the parties who were about to commit crime, if in so doing he intended they should be discovered and

punished; and his testimony, therefore, is not to be treated as that of an infamous witness. (*Com. v. Corr*, 3 Norris.)

If the officer of the law who receives the circular of a criminal dealing in obscene books and pictures accepts the dealer's invitation to purchase what he says he has for sale, sends the price which the dealer names, and in reply receives that which the dealer offers for sale to his customers, such an officer does not induce that man to commit a crime. The officer has no other means of testing the truth of the circular that is sent out voluntarily by the dealer inviting the public to buy his forbidden wares. The real "decoys" are the circulars of these wretches — devil decoys to ruin youth and children.

The circular on its face raises the strong presumption that this man is disseminating what he says he has for sale, in his printed circular. This "probable cause" comes to the officer, and the officer uses detective measures to see if the man is really sending out what he says in his circulars he will send out for the price he names. The man is not "induced to commit a crime."

While our critics are loud in their denunciation of "inducing men to commit crime," they do not stop to consider what is actually done, or what is necessary to be done. They jump at conclusions. The word "decoy" conveys to them the idea that these men are trapped, or induced to do that which otherwise they would not do. What is done? The officer simply accepts the invitation of the vender of obscenity, and sends the money or price named in his circular. The man who receives this letter is not obliged to send anything.

In the case of *United States v. Moore*, it was held: —

When the defendant received the letters in question, he was under no obligation to so answer them as to violate the law. (19 Fed. Rep. 41.)

In the trial of a ~~man~~ named Downing in Massachusetts for the unlawful sale of liquor, one King was the witness, and Downing was convicted upon the testimony of King. On the trial the defense requested the court to charge that the person who admitted that he had purchased and procured another per-

son to commit a crime for the purpose of prosecuting the person was not a creditable witness. The court refused to charge that, but charged as follows : —

That if the jury believed the witness King they must convict the defendant. That it sometimes became necessary to match cunning with cunning, and accomplish by artifice what could not otherwise be consummated. (4 Gray, 29.)

On appeal it was held : —

King was not an accomplice. The point was well settled in *Com. v. Willard*, 22 ~~Mass.~~^{Pickering} 407, 412.

In *United States v. Cottingham*, 2 Blatchf. 470, a "test" letter had been prepared, and mailed for the purpose of detecting the defendant. It was objected that this was not a letter under the act. The court charged the jury, "that the purpose for which the letter from which the money was taken was mailed, was not a question under the act."

In *United States v. Foye*, 1 Curtis, 366, a "test" letter was sent upon an understanding between two postmasters, that one was to mail a letter which, in the order of transit, would have to pass through the office of the other, who was to return the same to the writer, if it arrived all right. This letter was taken by the mail-carrier, and its contents appropriated to his own use.

Upon the trial it was objected by the defendant that it was not a letter intended to be conveyed by post, within the meaning of the act. Judge Curtis says : —

We do not think the purpose of the writer, not to have the letter go to its apparent destination, affects its character, or prevents it from being a letter intended to be transmitted by post, or takes it out of the protection of the statute.

In England the statute 1 Victoria defines a "post letter" to mean "any letter or packet transmitted by the post under the authority of the Postmaster General, and a letter shall be deemed a post letter from the time of its being delivered to the post office to the time of its being delivered to the person to whom it is addressed."

In *Regina v. Gardiner*, 1 Carr & K. 628, it was held, that a test letter used to detect a dishonest official, if addressed to a

fictitious address, did not come within the statute. Judge Pollock, C. B., commenting upon the facts in that case, said : —

This letter, if letter it be, is a fictitious one, and is not addressed to any person that ever existed. I do not think this can be considered a letter at all, and if so, it was certainly not a “post letter.”

This dictum was afterwards overruled, by a unanimous opinion by all the judges, Judge Pollock assenting, in *Regina v. Young*, 1 Dennison Crown Cases, 198. In *Young's* case the letter had been deposited by the president of the London District Office, in a receiving house at Allgate, where *Young* was employed. This letter had a fictitious address upon it, and was posted to test the honesty of the prisoner, who stole the letter, and afterwards being convicted by the jury, the case was reserved for the judges, and, in consideration, Ballantyne for the prisoner suggested, “that this was not a post letter, as it was not intended for transmission, and that the object with which the letter was put into the post must be a material ingredient in the question.”

On Ballantyne citing *Regina v. Gardiner*, Pollock, C. B., intimated that he had some reason to think his dictum in that case incorrect.

The judges were unanimously of the opinion that this conviction was right.

Later, in *Queen v. Shepherd*, 25 L. J. (N. S.), 1856, p. 52, in considering this case, Williams, J. said : “The case of *Queen v. Young* shows that it makes *no difference that the letter was not a genuine letter.*” Croswell, J. said : “Though the letter was made up merely for testing the honesty of the prisoner, it is a post letter as has been decided in *Queen v. Young* overruling the case of *Queen v. Gardiner*, with the assent of Pollock, C. B., who decided it.”

These cases clearly show, that the courts in the United States and England recognize that letters in the mails containing money or other articles of value are letters to be “conveyed by mail” and covered by the protection of law; notwithstanding and independent of the motive of the one who deposits such letters for mailing or delivery.

Judge Spier stands singularly alone. There must be some

weighty reason in a case that would justify a district court judge in overruling all precedents, especially when these precedents are established by courts which outrank the District Court, as is the case in all decisions of United States Circuit Courts. Next to the United States Supreme Court, the Circuit Courts of the United States stand in power and authority. Too many instances have occurred recently where district court judges ignore the decisions of these higher courts. This practice leads to confusion, and works harm in the administration of justice.

The great bulk of the trade in obscenity is dependent upon the mails of the United States for means of communication. These crimes, and the depredations committed upon the mails by dishonest employees, have been kept in check by the fidelity of the officers of the Mail Depredation Department, of Washington, of which William A. West, Esq., is chief inspector, by means of these common-sense tests which enable the officers to detect the criminal and discern between the honest and dishonest employees.

The great bulk of the business in obscene publications that a few years ago loaded down the mails, by which thousands of our youth were being corrupted; the monstrous frauds then operated, which in some instances netted \$1,000 a day to those who conducted them; the gigantic lottery schemes that formerly flooded the mails—all have been checked by “test letters” and brought into subjection, while the perpetrators of these crimes have been brought to justice. All this has been accomplished by means of letters which Judge Spier chooses to denounce as improper, but which every other court that I can find any record of in this country has approved and indorsed.

In the case in question Mr. Charles E. Dosser, one of the most faithful post office inspectors in the service to-day, and two of his associates had charge of the case; and whether designed or not, Judge Spier’s ruling is an implied rebuke to these faithful officers. If such a doctrine is to prevail, the mails will be open to frauds, fraudulent lotteries, and venders in obscenity and filth; while it will encourage dishonesty, embezzlement, and depredation in those inclined to be dishonest in the postal service.

When we consider that the mails of the United States go into every city, town, hamlet, and home ; that upon every railroad and steamship line are postal clerks, and route agents distributing mail to all parts of our land, and every post office that is occupied by those who must necessarily handle other people's mail-matter ; when we consider that the mails are the great channels of communication between people in different parts of the country, then the necessity of methods to detect crime, and protect these great interests, will be realized ; and then, it seems to me, will appear to the mind of every intelligent reader the wisdom of the decisions of the higher courts in sanctioning detective measures to bring the secret offenders against our laws to justice.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

ADOPTED IN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, JUNE 21.

THE Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people — Abraham Lincoln ; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils — Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic — the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

FREE SUFFRAGE.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States ; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the constitution ; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the constitution and laws of the United States.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection ; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his

party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures.

FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our constitution; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

TRUSTS.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the state legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition

of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain, for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that, by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats, about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

HOME RULE IN TERRITORIES.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves constitutions and state governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish state governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

MORMONISM.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all Territories where the same is questioned; and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute

books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

BI-METALLISM.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign — the people — should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence, which is to preserve us a free Nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

ARMY, NAVY, AND FORTIFICATIONS.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine; and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials, as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defense, for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America, and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for

constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

THE PROTECTION OF OUR FISHERIES.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time, citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad, in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the Civil Service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the Civil Service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all Executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided."

PENSIONS FOR THE SOLDIERS.

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse, or dependent

upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit of President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the coöperation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

Postscript adopted on the last day of the Convention : "The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people, and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality."

AN INVOCATION.

WRITTEN IN CHAMBERS STREET HOSPITAL.

I.

FAIR Verse, sweet Verse, most beautiful and dear ;
Fair fount, sweet fount, outwelling pure and strong ;
Fair stream, sweet stream, in bloomy valley set,
Whate'er thy name, Arethuse or Castaly —
Both fount and stream a-song with Doric bees,
Attic, Ionian, only Greek art thou !

Nay — Canaan's elder Muse, with solemn harp,
Loved Moses' fount of Pisgah, and the rose
And lily red of Huleh. Sweet thy springs,
En-rogel and En-gedi, where the kids
Do play. But most adorable thy stream,
Sion's and David's, which Esaias drank,
When first, obedient to his king's behest,
It burst the rock, and filled Siloam's pool.

Fair lands of forest, hill, and hidden gorge,
Yours is the Poet's, yours is Freedom's song.
Peaks, ridges, valleys, swales once clad with trees,
Cedars and pines bent down with drifted snow,
Gray olive, most diverse, most humanlike
Of trees ; fresh, graceful, rampant, rugged, gnarled ;
Mast trees, oak, beech, and chestnut : poplars slim,
And osier withes that love the river bed,
Your streams are quenched, your mountains shorn and dry ;
Goats browse the scanty herbage, parched and brown ;
Fled is your Muse to other wooded hills.

Where were thy founts, hoar Memphis ? where thy streams
And forests, vanished Thebes ? where, Sippara

Antediluvian, and where, Erech blest,
Thy bubbling brooks, thy Muse's haunted glades?
Lands of flat marsh and yearly overflow;
Lands of great water-birds, heron, and stork,
And ibis; lands of wallowing water-beasts,
The river-horse and crocodile; your soil
Oozed with the miry tread of ploughing beasts,
Your level mud was banked in annual plats,
Your rills were pumped with daily toil, and turned
This way and that, to do their daily task;
Your woods were serried leagues of weary palms,
Least human, most monotonous of trees,
Palling the eye with one unaltering curve,
And daily with their turbid portion fed.
Scant space for Muse's foot to trip upon
The sluice-way's bank! O Liberty, O Song!
The hills, the groves, the founts, the glades are thine!

From thy bared hills, dead Greece, dead Palestine,
To thy fresh woods and waters, Italy,
The Muses fled, young Italy, and were
At home; young Italy of classic ode
An epic; still, thou younger Italy,
New-born to art, Greek born a second time,
When he who bore his Beatrice to top
Of Heaven, and he who sang his Laura's fame
To the earth's end, and they who, later, told
Orlando's rage, and Soldan slain, and Christ
Set on his throne upon the holy hill,
Broidered the cross upon the Muse's robe.

Ye streams that fall between the castled cliffs,
Into the Rhine, ye too, are wed to song;
And fields of joust, Provence and Normandy,
And the gay vineyards and brave homes of France.

But thou art dearest, thou fair British isle,
Dearest to us, and dearest to the Muse.

Land of great charters, parliaments, and laws,
Land whose free tongue has ne'er the invader sued,
Land that feared not to bring its tyrant king
Before his peers, and do the court's decree ;
Blest land of freedom, justice, right, and song,
Greener than all lands are thy rain-fed swards,
Full flow thy beck and burns, and clear thy lakes,
Fuller of music of the elder bards,
And every sunny glade is flecked with song.
Jocund and gay, beguiling all the road
With love-tale and with homily, the Knight
And Nun and Parson sang their pilgrimage ;
The April daisy winked as fell their tears ;
Their laughter vexed the wide-eyed pimpernel.
Masterful Avon ! king of streams art thou
Where every stream is royal. Tweed and Ayr,
And Cam and Dee, Severn, and every lake
Is home of poet. England loved, to all
The world thou sing'st ; who will not sing of thee ?
Run soft, sweet Thames, in an unending song !

Come hither, Muse, rest on our Western shore ;
The sea is narrow, and the time is come.
Heart, home and freedom, and thine English tongue
Have builded here. Thou shalt have room and love.
What shady nook, what sunlit stream is yon,
But we have sunnier, shadier ? Younger lands
And greener woods and songs of peace are here.

Hear'st thou the thunder rumbling in the East ?
Seest thou a million Cossacks hid behind
Silesian ramparts, and a million more
Waiting to leap the Balkans ? Roses red,
Mile upon mile, scent thy free, virgin air
Bulgaria ; but rarer and more sweet
The freedom pulsing in thy young, red blood
Than the distillment of the rose leaves plucked
Ere sunrise, in thy gardens, by the maids !

But maids and roses and thy gallant sons
Wait the dread Russian. Austria's million men
Guard the frontier; and Humbert arms his fleet,
And while the Pfarrer reads the Ninetieth Psalm
Over the corpse of the gray Emperor,
Bismarck leans, listening for the word of war,
And Germany and France shall leap to arms.
O Europe, camp of soldiers, camp of slaves!
Thy men are reared for slaughter, and thy maids
For tears. Thy wheat-fields are no longer blue
With peaceful corn-flower, but with poppy red —
The blood-red poppy with its death-black heart.
Come hither, men, to our free Western land!
Come hither, Muse, to our fair realm of peace!

Wild forests wait thee here. The northern pine
Stands twin to the huge hemlock's untrimmed trunk.
Beneath, the unhindered foot walks the deep moss,
Softer than snow-fall, greener than the sea;
Blue-green, gray-green, green of the purest hue,
Save where the black stems of the ebony fern
Shoot from the ledge, and on a fallen log
The rosy twin-flower lifts its threaded stems
Above the matted snowberry's fragrant vines.
A group of lady birches, maiden pure,
Shadow their white limbs with their waving hair;
Beyond the pine, a deer drinks at the lake.
How can I tell the woodland ecstasies
These eyes have seen? But ours are hills where crowns
Of royal fern, magnificent, outspread,
Lie scattered underneath the chestnut shades;
Ours are wide views of vale from mountain height;
Adown the cliff flashes the silver spray;
'Neath the magnolia and the tulip tree
Clumps of mad laurel, tumbling on the bank,
Empty their purple wonders in the stream.
Every delight of sky, and wood, and lake,
Upland and lowland, fount and waterfall,

Unhackneyed, wild, and free, is here ; fit haunt
And home is here for the tired Muse ; fit rest
From weary sighings and from unblest war.
Come hither, Muse, come hither, Muse, and dwell !

But thou hast come ; nay, more, have I not heard
Upon the Charles's bank thy reed set sad
To tell the Acadian woe ? or, shrilling clear
The call of freedom, while the Merrimac
Sent back a note of truth and right and God ?

Wert thou uncertain of thy welcome here ?
Didst thou not know a thousand hills and rills
Were asking for thee ? Hudson's palisades
Repeat the call, and from the Southern slope
I know thou heard'st a hungry heart cry out
In a brave agony ; and thou didst come
And with his flute didst tune thy comrade reed
Beside the Chattahoochee and the Marsh.
And thou shalt dwell with us. What wilt thou have ?
What dost thou love ? Reaches of sky and field ;
Free running water brooks through the wild woods ;
Hills springing into mountains ; ice-capped peaks
That melt in rivers ; Nature's plenitude
Of space and life ; souls pure as snowflakes, warm
As sunshine ; heart of hope, the kiss of peace,
Freedom, and law, and learning ? Ask thy will,
But come, and sing thy songs in all our land !

II

Fair Verse, sweet Verse, most beautiful and dear !
Why fair ? why sweet ? how dear and beautiful ?
What is thy lineage ? of what parents born ?
Whence came the beauty that we love in thee ?

God made thee fellow of the morning stars,
Wrought from the essence of his Trinity,
Wrought, primal pattern of his choicest works,

The quintessential of all sweetest things.
Out of Himself thine all ; nothing elsewhence.
Nothing diverse, repugnant, misallied ;
God's beauty and the beauty of his works,
Nothing but beauty, beauty wide and high ;
Naught else thou art, naught else canst thou receive,
As the moth's tongue sucks but the honey-tube.

The sky gave thee its beauty and its depth,
Its aspirations, and its sanctities,
Its wonder, its infinity, its stars ;
They are thy sister galaxies of song,
Constant and lofty and forever pure.

But oh ! the colors purpled on thy vest,
Fair Verse ! the lucent blue of the moist air
After a shower, the piercing radiances
That rest along the levels of the west ;
Th' horizon's fire-gold, breaking into bands
Of softer gold above, and milder fire,
Until they melt into the purple east !
And oh ! the consort of the rainbow tints
Embroidered there, passions and hopes and loves
Fashioned in fittest harmony of flowers
And streams and stars, all picture and all soul !

Have I not loved, dear Verse, the tinkling dance
Of thy sweet feet ? What master taught thy steps ?
'T was the free winds, the liberty of the clouds,
The balance of successive day and night,
The patter of the rain, the gay brook's rush,
The waxing and the waning of the moon.
Thy feet are steady as the stately stars,
Thou hast the rhythm of the beating sea ;
Anon, thy steps, inwove with deftest art,
Trip the quick graces of the intricate dance ;
Thou wanderest in and out the vagrant ode,
Mingling in measured motion, swift or slow,

Th' alternate steppings of a double star,
The triple cadence of a flower de luce.

Out of a cavern on Parnassus' side,
Flows Castaly; and with the flood outblown
From its deep heart of ice, the mountain's breath
Tempers the ardor of the Delphian vale.
Beside the stream from the black mould up-springs
Narcissus, robed in snow, with ruby crowned.
Long ranks of crocus, humble servitors,
But clad in purple, mark his downcast face.
The sward, moist from the flood, is pied with flowers,
Lily and vetch, lupine and melilot,
The hyacinth, cowslip, and gay marigold,
While on the border of the copse, sweet herbs,
Anise and thyme, breathe incense to the bay
And myrtle. Here thy home, fair Muse! How soft
Thy step falls on the grass whose morning drops
Bedew thy feet! The blossoms bend but break
Not, and thy fingers pluck the eglantine,
The privet, and the bilberry; or frame
A rustic whistle from a fresh-cut reed.
Here is thy home, dear Muse, fed on these airs;
The hills, the founts, the woods, the sky are thine!

But who are these? A company of youth
Upon a tesseled pavement in a court,
Under a marble statue of a muse,
Strew hot-house flowers before a mimic fount
Drawn from a faucet in a rockery.
With mutual admiration they repeat
Their bric-a-brackery of rococo verse,
Their versicles and icicles of song!

What know ye, verse-wrights, of the Poet's art?
What noble passion or what holy heat
Is stirred to frenzy when your eyes admire

The peacock feathers on a frescoed wall,
Or painted posies on a lady's fan?
Are these thine only bards, young age, whose eyes
Are blind to Heaven and heart of man; whose blood
Is water, and not wine; unskilled in notes
Of liberty, and holy love of land,
And man, and all things beautiful; deep skilled
To burnish wit in measured feet, to wind
A weary labyrinth of labored rhymes,
And cipher verses on an abacus?

Are these thy poets, age of trusts and rings,
Of stolen wealth and Senate millionaires?
These who have only seen the chiseled Muse,
And never felt her life? Why, tell me — but
Ye know not — did the tuneful Nine attend
Great Phœbus, god of the all-kindling sun?
Ye never learned at Thespian festival
How bubbling Hippocrene answered the foot
Of Pegasus, nor how the Delian god,
Apollo, god of poets and the lyre,
Father of healing, speaker of oracles,
Strangled the Python and the Sminthian plague.
Nor would ye care to see him come again
With lyre and knife to flay the Marsyan sham!
Ye elder seers, surviving, gray with love
Of fellow-man, and beauty's sanctities,
Delay your flight, Browning and Tennyson,
Lowell and Whittier, till these ears shall hear
Some higher note that might call back our dead,
And teach us to despise mechanic bards
Expert to solder silver filigree,
To carve out verse to order and for pay,
Product and purchase of the magazine.

Less banned than these — nay, curseder and most curst —
Yon herd of obscene beasts whose hoofs invade
The Muse's sacred seat. The tusked boar,

Black, huge, and insolent, snuffs the scented air.
It must be so — he loves the watered vale,
With a swine's love, and every flower that grows,
And root and muck with a promiscuous love.
This plant is moly, and he swallows it;
This asphodel, and still he swallows it;
And this is mud, and still he swallows it.
So with his snout he turns the flowery sod,
And tramples beauty, fragrance, in one mire.
Why not? If flowers are but gay mud from which
They grow — dew, snow, grass, slime, fragrance, and stench,
Mud, each and all, equal, indifferent —
Then good is evil, and the swine is Muse!
Out of the mud grow flowers; flowers are not mud.
And out of lust grew love; love is not lust.
Men are not brutes. By high development
From matter, spirit, and from sense the soul.
All fair is kindred, sky and soul and flowers;
All foul is kin, disgrace and lust and filth.
Who sings the miss of virtue, kiss of sin,
Unknowing truth and beauty and the good,
Mumbles sow-thistles on a clover bank,
Tramples the valley of the sacred Muse,
Makes it the filthy run of unclean swine,
And bids her follow Priap's satyr train,
Instead of Phœbus and chaste Artemis.

Fair Verse, sweet Verse, most beautiful and dear,
Show us thy seat and be at home with us.
The vale is sacred: we will worship thee
With hymns and odes and silver madrigals;
With amaranth garlands will we strew thy steps,
And thou shalt sing us to the holy stars!

WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

In The Independent, May 10.

BOSTON HYMN.

CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,
AT THE 200TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 12, 1888.

1. HOLY, holy, holy Cross,
All else won I count but loss,
Sapphire suns are dust and dross
In the radiance of the Face
Which reveals God's way of grace
Open to a rebel race.
2. Ransom He and ransomed we,
Love and Justice here agree ;
Let the angels bend and see
Endless is this mystery :
He, the Judge, our pardon wins ;
In His wounds our peace begins.
3. Looking on the accursed tree,
When we God as Saviour see,
Him as Lord we gladly choose,
Him as King cannot refuse,
Love of sin with guilt we lose,
So the Cross the soul renews.
4. In His righteousness we hide
Last long woe of guilt and pride ;
In His Spirit we abide.
Naught are we, our all is He ;
Christ's pierced hands have set us free ;
Grace is this beyond degree.

5. Glory His above all height;
Mercy, Majesty and Might;
God in man is love's delight;
Man in God of God hath sight;
Love is God's throne, great and white;
Day in God hath never night.

JOSEPH COOK.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE VI.

HIGH LICENSE A HINDRANCE TO PROHIBITION.

At Mr. Cook's 200th Boston Monday Lecture, there was present the usual great audience, containing hundreds of preachers, students, teachers, and other educated men. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon presided and the Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb offered prayer. The Boston Hymn, entitled "Christus Consolator," a companion to the hymn used a few weeks earlier, and called "Christus Consummator," was sung, with impressive effect.

The address by Miss Frances E. Willard, President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, on "Woman's Ballot as a Temperance Measure," was received with eager attention, and frequently emphatic commendation. Many of the officers and members of the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union were on the platform. Both Dr. Gordon and Miss Willard made appropriate reference to the occasion, as that of the delivery of the 200th Boston Monday Lecture. The service began with the following

INVOCATION.

Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, wilt Thou protect the homes of the land from their destroyers. We thank Thee that while the Lord gives the word, the women who publish it are a great host. Wilt Thou give us wisdom to follow the pillar of fire through which Thou dost look in our own day, and wilt Thou lead us into a land in which there shall be no more sorrow, nor crying, because of strong drink, nor because of our indifference in allowing any one to put the bottle to his neighbor's lips. Wilt Thou deliver us from the sin of submitting to men who do not submit to Thee. We have been sinners in submission to sinners. Wilt Thou give us due repentance, and our nation due repentance, and so regeneration, for the Redeemer's sake. Amen.

THE ILLEGALITY OF LICENSE.

There has been set on foot within a few weeks a movement

by the friends of temperance to have all license laws declared unconstitutional. The hope that such an effort may succeed is based on these great words of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States: "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it; much less their servants. . . . Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them." This language had reference to the lotteries so famous and infamous in New Orleans, and would undoubtedly be reaffirmed concerning lotteries if a proper case were brought before the Supreme Court. Whether it would be reaffirmed concerning license laws is at least a question. I advise temperance people, therefore, not to expect a decision declaring all license laws unconstitutional, and yet it may be that you will reach such a decision through the Supreme Court of the republic. It is evident that the moral, if not the legal, principles contained in these words do go to the extent of a declaration that license laws ought to be regarded as unconstitutional, because inimical to the welfare of the people. That the principle which the temperance people have read in these words is really in them I fully believe, but whether as much will be asserted by the Supreme Court of the United States, I should prefer not to affirm until our history has been further developed in the line of temperance agitation before the loftiest legal tribunal of the land.

Regarding this new effort as a thoroughly proper one, because morally, if not legally, justifiable, I am yet of the opinion that our conflict with those who would legalize the liquor traffic is not ended, and I, therefore, beg leave to present a few reasons why high license is to be opposed as a hindrance to prohibition. Most of us here are in favor of severe temperance legislation. Some of us, were it not for our political affiliations, would demand constitutional prohibition, state and national. But on this platform we make little account of mere party ties. We are willing to hear the truth, no matter whose political prejudices it offends. The opinion of the Methodist Church, as declared by her bishops in the United States, is that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST HIGH LICENSE.

High license is a hindrance to prohibition for these eight reasons: —

1. Because it enlists the covetousness of the taxpayer in the support of the saloon as a source of revenue and of supposed diminution of taxes.

About a million dollars are raised in Chicago from the fees given by those who obtain high licenses. Herrick Johnson says you never can bring Chicago to believe in prohibition while so much money is obtained from the whiskey rings to diminish taxes. Dr. Funk said in my hearing the other day in New York, — he is the editor of the "Voice," as most of you know, the foremost temperance journal in the world; I am not connected with it in any way, and I wish it all success, — that more than two millions of dollars are received annually from New York city and its adjacent towns for licenses, and that nothing checks average temperance work so thoroughly as this apparent diminution of taxes. An internal revenue whiskey tax makes our whole people participators in the gains and crimes of the liquor traffic. It yields about \$96,000,000 in some years, but Senator Blair has just shown that the results of it are probably such as to cost us about \$15 a head. We get about \$1.60 a head from it, but the direct damages it does cannot be covered by \$15 cash from every citizen of the republic. The apparent diminution of taxes is only apparent. Nevertheless, such is the cupidity of the average taxpayer that as soon as high license brings a great revenue to the State, he becomes wet powder for prohibition.

2. Because high license gilds the saloon, transforms the gin-hole into the gin-palace, and so gives external respectability to the liquor traffic.

3. Because high license makes the wealthy saloon the low politicians' headquarters, a caucus room, and often a polling place, and so brings elections under the domination of the whiskey rings, and causes the path to political preferment to lead through the gilded gin-mill.

About seven out of every ten caucuses held in New York city, of late, have been held in saloons or next door to them.

4. Because high license leads in practice to a combination of the gin-mill with the headquarters of the worst vices, especially with those of gambling and prostitution. "Low license," says Herrick Johnson, "asks for your son; high license for your daughter, also."

5. Because high license is a party measure merely, and can be reversed by a change in party majorities, and so stimulates the whiskey syndicates to foster political corruption; while constitutional prohibition, passed by the whole people, could not easily be overturned, and would not, therefore, tempt to political machination and corruption as a merely party measure always does.

6. Because high license is generally approved, and prohibition always opposed, by the whiskey rings.

7. Because while high license may diminish the number of saloons, it is the notorious testimony of the best authorities that it does not diminish the amount of liquor sold nor the extent of drunkenness.

8. Because license in all its forms is contrary to the principles of good government and good morals. It is a permission by the State to certain people for a consideration to manufacture taxes, paupers, drunkards, widows, orphans, criminals, madmen, and lost souls. [Applause.]

I have now the honor of introducing to you, a most unnecessary task, the best known and the best loved woman in the United States, Miss Frances E. Willard. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD.

GROWTH OF WOMAN'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

DEAR FRIENDS: Many years ago I heard Bishop Simpson say that when he was a pastor in Cincinnati he had occasion to circulate petitions against the saloons, petitions for the closing of the saloons on Sunday, and other measures intended to hedge in their baleful influence, and he noted the readiness with which women signed these petitions; the eagerness, even, with which they affixed their names. Far more eagerly and far more gen-

erally, he said, he found the women willing and ready to sign these petitions than the men. He said it did not matter whether they were educated or illiterate women, whether they were native or foreign born, whether they were Catholic or Protestant, he found a practical unanimity among the women. That thought was lodged in my brain and has remained there always. It came from a wise and luminous soul. It came out of an experience.

Several years later, when I was president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Illinois, in 1878 and 1879, I said to our workers in the local unions, "Why should not we try these signatures of women right here in our own State? We have a local option law that says the municipal authorities in their discretion may license, or refuse to license, the saloons, and by that method we reach the measure of local prohibition or local license. Suppose that our legislators should be in their discretion sufficiently discreet to ask the home folks what they think about it all? Could it not be that by a law which we might secure from the legislature we women might be endowed with the right of petition, and with the right of the vote by signature; and that, when added up, the names on those petitions, names of men and women, should be decisive of the question?" So we went to learned lawyers, and they told us that the plan was entirely practicable. On this basis we made a campaign throughout the State. Of course we did not get what we had sought, although we sought it in consecutive legislatures, because these men were soldiers, recruited, drilled, and put in position under the dome of our state house, for the express purpose of defeating all temperance measures. But there was a recoil of that piece of artillery, the home protection cannon. It rebounded in full force upon the public sentiment of the State. The good and thoughtful people, men and women, throughout Illinois, said, "The way in which women have signed this petition, and the way in which men have signed it, too, shows that here is a vantage ground for us;" and from that hour "home protection" has been a watchword in the State of Illinois, and has become a watchword throughout the nation in the ranks of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

I ask you now carefully to note this fact, that in the winter when we circulated this petition, 845 towns voted on the question of license or no license ; voted by means of the election or defeat of a ticket that was either in accordance with prohibition or opposed to it. Out of those 845 towns, 632 voted practical prohibition. Nothing like that proportion was ever known before or has ever been known since in Illinois. The home vote of the men was stirred up and brought out and rallied at the ballot-box, because of this agitation that had caused in all the home circles of the State so much of a tintinabulation of woman's tireless tongue. [Laughter and applause.] Good men and women are not so vastly diverse in the way they determine questions when there has been what Abraham Lincoln called "a fair chance for a fair hearing on both sides."

WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE BALLOT IN CITIES.

We then said, inasmuch as we cannot get from the legislature what we desire, let us go to those smaller legislatures called municipal councils ; let us urge them to be discreet enough to pass an ordinance asking the women to vote, as well as the men, locally on this single question. And twelve towns of Illinois adopted such an ordinance. What was the result ? It was an overwhelming result in favor of prohibition. This never failed. Always the women marshaled at the ballot-boxes were loyal and true, as we expected them to be. The largest town in which we tried the experiment was Rockford, Ill., with 14,000 inhabitants. On the day for which all other days were made, as we thought in that town, when this decision was to come about, 2,000 women cast their ballots. They were women not only from the elegant homes of Rockford, not only from the church and philanthropic circles, but they were women who were operatives in the mills of Rockford, they were hired girls out of the kitchens ; hundreds and hundreds of them, putting on their best Sunday clothes, marched to the ballot-boxes. And of the 2,000 women who voted that day only four, *only four*, voted in favor of license. [Applause.] In the advocacy of woman's municipal ballot on temperance questions, we are not standing wholly upon a fine-spun theory. We are standing upon a basis of

that which we know, and which we simply report from experience.

In Arkansas, a State which you may have supposed to be the dark and bloody ground of bowie knives and pistols, there was a better legislature than in Illinois, for Illinois is the headquarters of the whiskey ring, because we have Peoria, which pays twelve millions a year, or did then, of internal revenue on its brewing and distilling interests. Some ladies of Arkansas happened to read in a church paper our petition. They copied and circulated it throughout the State, getting good men and women to sign it everywhere. They came before the legislature and asked for just the law that we had asked for, only suited to the peculiarities of the local option law in Arkansas. And they secured a law that within three miles of church or school-house there should be no saloon, in case a majority of the men and women should put their names to a petition requesting that there should be none. I was in Arkansas just after this law was passed in 1880. I was present at the state house when a splendid temperance jubilee called together the best men and women of Arkansas to celebrate this wonderful deliverance. I heard a pioneer preacher and editor say: "Are we not glad we have lived to see this hour? Look over the map of our beloved State, where we and our wives have so long labored and had patience, trace the line from Fort Smith to Little Rock and all along the Iron Mountain Road, look over the counties, and from three fourths of them you will find the liquor traffic routed, horse, foot, and dragoons. Women did it." That was what a *man* said, a broad-shouldered, big-hearted man who was proud that woman had come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty. He said: "We men put the weapon of law in their hands, and they have wielded it like true daughters of the church, the state, and the home."

A lawyer, Colonel Porter Grace, who had been the champion of the bill in the Senate, said: "In my career as a lawyer I have prosecuted or defended one hundred and thirty men for homicide in my part of the State. Fully nine tenths of all my cases at court have been directly traceable to the liquor traffic. I saw women suffer so much that I determined to befriend them, if I

could. Two facts stood out in bold relief as the result of my experience: First, intoxicating drinks are at the bottom of crime; second, the women, as a class, not only do not drink, but are set against the habit. Then came the question, What can be done to protect the homes? Our legislature had not got up, nor down, nor around (just as you please to call it) to the idea of the full ballot for women. So, as I could not put that in their hands, I resolved to do my best to give them the vote by signature, on temperance measures alone. We asked for this law, and secured it by a large majority."

This thing happened in one of the Arkansas towns — the jail was closed, and there were no cases in court for some months, and the marshal of the town said, "You might as well abolish my office. For one month I have had no cases of drunken and disorderly conduct, and not a single arrest save one for thieving." You may imagine the change when a mean-spirited business man in the community said, "You can't keep up your town. No arrests, no fines. You can't even keep your sidewalks in repair." Some farmers standing by laughed their contempt for the speech and one of them said to the rest: "What a pity it is, boys, that a lot of us can't be jerked up by the marshal, carried out to court, and sawed up into the right length for sidewalks." [Laughter.]

It may not be generally known that in the State of Kansas, prior to its adoption of prohibition, the people had for years enjoyed this law of local option, and that it was this that educated the State up to the idea of a local option once for all which should include the entire State.

RECENT TRIUMPHS OF WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE BALLOT.

I thought I would have some news this morning that was fresh. We live in the age of the postal card, the telephone, and the Associated Press, and I thought I would like to know just what our people scattered over the nation have to say about the power of woman as shown forth at the point where, by the correlation of governmental forces in a republic, opinions can pass into ballots and laws. I thought I would like to know how woman's political influence was working in Arkansas, and

how people liked it so far as they had got it. Remember, their law went into effect in 1880, and we are in 1888. This telegram is dated March 9, Friday last, and is signed by the Hon. J. L. Palmer, who from the first has been the temperance pioneer and the temperance head of the State of Arkansas. He sends me this: "Woman's signature carried all but eleven cities and towns in Arkansas against license. The colored majority was against license." Be it remembered that in, I think, about a dozen of the cities of Arkansas the saloon men carried a clause that excluded the signature vote of women. That accounts for their not carrying the other eleven cities. [Applause.]

I thought I would send out to Leavenworth, the principal city of Kansas. By the vote of women in April last, the saloons, the gambling-houses, and haunts of infamy in that city suffered such a Waterloo as they never dreamed could come to them. When 26,000 women voted last April in Kansas, the librarian of the State Library, after carefully studying the returns in eight hundred newspapers, said that their vote had been practically solid for the enforcement of a prohibitory law. Kansas is a good place in which to inquire for the latest ideas and the freshest facts. I have this from Mrs. Laura B. Fields, for years the president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Kansas: "Woman's ballot reduced the 1,700 Democratic anti-temperance majority for mayor of Leavenworth to seven. It was better than that throughout the State." [Applause.]

I thought that a breath from the Pacific coast might be good and healthful for us, more ozone in it, perhaps, at least it seemed so to me when I was out there, and so I wrote to Mrs. Lucy A. Switzer, of Cheney, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the Territory, that is, I wrote with the electric pen, and received from her this telegram on Saturday of last week: "Woman's influence carried the scientific temperance instruction bill, the local option laws, the social purity laws. Five hundred majority in the Territory under local option for prohibition, many rural precincts not voting. All saloons and their following," — I would like to have this italicized in my

manner of reading, and if I could I would like to have it italicized in your manner of listening, if you please, — “all the saloons and their following in Washington Territory bitterly opposed to reënactment of the woman's ballot law.” [Applause.] It is reënacted all the same. [Loud applause.]

I thought I would like to hear how this measure works in Wyoming, that little mining camp of a Territory, where women are only, I think, in the proportion of a fifth or a sixth of the population, and greatly scattered, with no *esprit de corps* and no leadership. This is a resolution sent to me on Saturday last by telegraph by Mrs. Judge Brown, of Laramie. She and her husband are leaders in all philanthropic movements in Wyoming Territory. This is a resolution adopted by the territorial prohibitory convention: “After nineteen years of observation and experience of the beneficial effects of woman's voice and vote in the governmental affairs of our Territory, and seeing no evil results therefrom, but finding its influence only beneficial, we earnestly recommend its indorsement by the national prohibition convention.” If Captain Cuttle were here he might well say to any Republican inside these walls, “When found, make a note on.” [Laughter and applause.] If I were a Republican, as I am a Prohibitionist, and wanted to see “the grand old party” live on and on with new lease of life and power, I should say, “Tell the leaders of the host to give the sign to the women who have been marking time so long, and tell them to come forward and help us to a majority that will throw aside the saloon parasites, and give us a permanent victory at the polls for prohibition.” [Applause.] This is being thought about by those same leaders. What does the “Traveller” say? “The defeat of this bill that is now before the Massachusetts legislature by Republican votes will be a matter of regret on party grounds as well as on those of public policy.” That sounds more like the party of Senator Henry W. Blair than anything I have heard in a long while.

The vote as it stood on the memorable day last week when I had the pleasure of being present in the hall of your House of Representatives has been analyzed, and I find it: Republicans, anti-saloon, 118; Republicans, *for* the saloon, 89. These are

not my figures, putting it the way it is put, but you know what it means. "Anti-saloon" means that those Republicans voted that woman should have this license ballot. There were in favor of woman having a temperance vote, 118 Republicans to 39 against. How was it with the Democrats? There were in favor of the women having this vote, 5; there were against it, 61. The Democrats voted twelve to one in favor of the saloon; the Republicans voted three to one against it. [Applause.] Honor to whom honor is due. And while the conduct of the Republicans in my State drove me from the party I had loved so long and loyally, their conduct in Massachusetts may keep many a woman, not without influence in politics, within the party, if that party is wise in this day of a great decision. [Applause.]

Here is a letter I have from the Assessment Commissioner of Toronto. I thought I would find out how woman's ballot works in that old land of steady habits. Did you ever dream they would surpass us in progress?

MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President, W. N. C. T. U., Chicago:*

DEAR MADAM, — His worship Mayor Howland has handed your note to this department — respecting women voters — for reply.

I may state that the number of women voters in this city who were entitled to vote at the last municipal elections was 3,353. As this represents about one fifth of the number of votes recorded for the mayoralty the influence of the ladies is apparent.

Their power as a factor for good in the cause of temperance can hardly be overestimated.

I may add that for the year 1888 their numerical strength at the polling booth will reach 4,000.

Yours respectfully,

N. MAUGHAN, *Assessment Commissioner.*

January 9, 1888.

I wrote to George E. Foster, my honorable friend, once a temperance lecturer in Massachusetts, now minister of the marine in Canada, a member of Sir John Macdonald's cabinet. I asked him how this woman's ballot works. Now, you will see he expresses it with the moderation of a cabinet minister. [Laughter.] This came to me on Saturday last: "So far as I can learn, the effect of limited suffrage in municipalities has

been excellent, so far as temperance measures are concerned." You see it paces off with care, there is no enthusiasm in it, but there is the little nugget of a fact I wanted to get at. [Laughter.]

And then I wrote my electric letter on Saturday to John Cameron, editor of the "Toronto Globe," to Miss M. Phelps, superintendent of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada, to Mrs. Addie Chisholm, the president of our forces in Ontario, and they all give this same cumulative testimony, that the votes of women, with very few exceptions, have been against the liquor traffic. I think these are very refreshing testimonies. They contain matter of eminent pith and moment.

REPLIES TO OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN'S BALLOT.

Let me, in a word, mention and reply to a few current objections. It is said women should content themselves with educating public sentiment. Women have got the public sentiment educated, all lying in nice little rows in the convolutions of their brains. Can't the practical Yankee nation use this educated sentiment? [Applause.] We like to shorten the processes. You know this is a kind of "cross lots" time in the century; we want to get to the goal as soon as we can. We find that women in Massachusetts outnumber men everywhere, except — I believe I may quote the gentleman who said — "except in the penitentiary." [Laughter.] I would not like to say that on my own motion, you know. But I may say, not to be at all personal to the State of Massachusetts, that in the nation at large, taking the round numbers as Carroll D. Wright gives them to us, for the 54,000 men in the penitentiaries there are 5,000 women. But Massachusetts has sixty thousand more women inhabitants than men. Here is a pretty good public sentiment that might be used if you chose to set it free.

Women should train their sons to vote right, it is said. Well, what if women who have the wit to train their sons to vote right should go with them and make one vote two, when the side everlastingly wins that has the most votes? [Laughter and applause.]

Bad women will vote. Alas! I am sorry that good men think

so much worse of women than the National Association of the Brewers does. In Chicago at their meeting this was their resolution: "Resolved, that we oppose always and everywhere the ballot in the hands of woman, for woman's vote is the last hope of the Prohibitionists." None see this so clearly as the liquor dealers, whose alligator eye is their pocket-book, and the politicians, whose Achilles heel is their ambition. They see it at the state house yonder, and they declare (as a man prominently connected with the liquor traffic did last week), "We will kill that bill; it shall never reach the Senate." They know whom they have to dread.

But not to dwell further on that, it is said that women do not wish to vote. But woman's wish to vote is growing like Jack's bean-stalk. Woman's wish to stand by her home is a wish founded in the deepest instincts of her nature. Women have petitioned by millions to be allowed to vote upon this question. The very fact that you put the power in woman's hands to vote is going to bring out the stay-at-home vote of the good men, just as it did in Illinois, where out of eight hundred and more towns that voted, over six hundred voted against license. If you wish to bring out the stay-at-home vote, set the women at work for it. Men will go where the women do. [Laughter and applause.] If the women go to the polls, the men will go.

Women don't vote on the school question, we are told. What a pity! The schools of Massachusetts are her pride. The saloons of Massachusetts are her shame. Votes on the school question are not decisive. The schools are excellent; the schools are well cared for. In any division between Catholics and Protestants, Catholics have some very fixed ideas about how schools ought to be managed, and Protestants have some ideas, perhaps, considerably different; but I never yet heard of a Catholic lot of saloons and a Protestant lot of saloons, did you? [Laughter.] I never heard of a division of the churches on that subject. But I have seen Irish women by the scores and hundreds, who, by their talk to me, and by their signatures to my petitions, and their "God bless you," as they said good-by to me with tears in their eyes, have said what the poor Irish Catholic washerwoman said to the judge that had just sentenced

her husband to jail, "Faith, your honor, it seems to me it would be a hape more wisdom for yez to just put the whiskey in the jail and lave Pat go free." [Laughter and applause.] When the English classics are studied and Longfellow's birthday is celebrated in the saloons of Boston, and when men tear hair and pummel one another because they are drunk in the public schools of Boston, then I think the women will come out and vote in a very lively manner. [Applause and laughter.] It seems the logical faculty was never at so low an ebb, was never so much like the amæba, and never so little like the man, as when arguments are brought from the fact that women here in Massachusetts do not vote in an enthusiastic manner on the school question, to prove that they will not vote in an enthusiastic manner on the saloon question. Women, like other people, learn by the things they suffer. They have some arguments in the bruises on the neck and shoulders that will send them out from alleys and back streets to vote on the saloon question, when they do not think much about the quiet-going public schools of Boston and this great Commonwealth.

Over against the cupidity and avarice of the dram shop we wish to set woman's instinct of protection for the home, her love for her husband and her son. We believe you have never known half that is in a mother's heart, half that is in a daughter's loyalty. We believe these divergent rays of woman's love for the manhood of the nation ought to be made to converge through the splendid sun-glass that we call the woman's license ballot, and set to burn and blaze on the saloons. We believe they will burn them out of the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts. [Applause.]

There is always a way out for humanity. God always has one more arrow in his quiver, one more force he has not deployed upon the field. Let us not stand with our hands hanging down, saying we cannot cope with this great enemy; but as it says in Holy Writ, let us hear the voice of God sounding to us, "What can I do for this people that I have not done? Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." Let the women of the home come forth once more, not crusading in the saloons, but crusading at the ballot-box. Let the women of

the home come forth once more, not with tearful eye and trembling lip, pleading with the saloon keeper, but let them go to the front crying out, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon." And may the legislatures speed that day. [Applause.]

THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP.

You do not know how much it means to me to have an opportunity to speak in Joseph Cook's Lectureship at his two-hundredth Boston lecture. This is a high day in our Zion. [Applause.] He whose affluent thought, if it should blossom out into flowers, would make a parterre brilliant and beautiful, he whose regnant faith is the passion flower of our time, he who has stood forward with his great throbbing engine of a brain, with his heart that matched it, and with his splendid culture, and has said, "I am here

For the cause that lacks assistance,
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance,
And the good that I can do." —

God bless him, says every woman's heart to-day! He has spoken for the voiceless, he has spoken for those that were down, he has not touched but to adorn every phase of philanthropy and every subject of reform. He never waited to look over his shoulder and see what was his following. He rushed forward like the followers of Bruce in the old wars in Scotland. He flung his ideal of a Christian republic away out into the masses of men, and followed it, like the knight of ancient chivalry saying, "Heart of Bruce, I follow thee?" Nay, heart of Christ, I follow thee. [Applause.] Long may this deep voice sound for us. Long may this clear eye be for us the outlook committee of progress.

And I cannot forget, because too well I love her, one who so silently yet fearlessly goes forth beside him in the deepening battle. For I beheld

A perfect woman nobly planned
To warn, to comfort and command ;
A creature not too bright or good

For human nature's daily food.
And yet a spirit still, and bright
With something of an angel's light. [Applause.]

God grant that side by side, two heads in council, two beside the hearth, Joseph Cook and Mrs. Joseph Cook may bless and comfort the reformers through long, long years to come. These flowers are for them. These flowers testify the love of the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union and of the Boston Woman's Christian Temperance Union; and our ribbon white, so worthy for him to wear, our ribbon white that speaks of purity and patriotism, is the emblem of the life we celebrate to-day. God bless all those who in this noble fellowship have said a word of cheer to one, who has gone steadily forward into the heavy cloud of public apathy, who has heard the whistling of the bullets of adverse opinion, and who has always said, with a voice that had no uncertain sound, "Here I stand; I can do no other. God help me. Amen." [Prolonged applause.]

MR. COOK'S REPLY TO MISS WILLARD.

Nothing is certain, Mr. Chairman, but the unexpected. When I asked this queen of the platform to address you this morning, I had not the slightest thought that she was to refer to the fact that this is the two-hundredth Boston Monday Lecture. That fact had hardly entered my own mind. I am so busy that I have not time to let the left hand know what the right hand doeth. This Lectureship has been a Providential growth, not a scheme of the lecturer, nor of any one else. It would be very unbecoming in me not to recognize the splendid generosity of these undeserved words. It would be also unbecoming were I not to reply to them, even if I must do so extemporaneously and spontaneously, and as if not in the hearing of the lady who has just addressed you. What do you behold to-day in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union? The largest and the most influential organization of women that has ever been seen in history for any purpose of reform. In our own nation there are 200,000 paying members of that organization, and they are a terror to evil-doers, inside politics and outside. [Applause.]

A constellation of some of the very noblest women of our time is concerned in the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, national and international, and the central star in that constellation has just been shedding its beams upon you. [Loud applause.] I hope you will remember that in spite of the brightness of this star it has no vote. Miss Willard is only a woman, and has no rights at the ballot-box. [Laughter and applause.]

My opinions concerning municipal suffrage have always been more or less conservative. But if woman's temperance ballot works well, some of us may cease to be conservative on the subject of female suffrage. I, for one, in that event, shall wish woman to have a wider ballot. But you say that if she gets the right to vote on questions of license we cannot go back. In reply to this objection, let me speak a serious word to conservative, cautious men. You are asked by the bill now before the Massachusetts legislature to give woman a vote on municipal matters, not for members of the legislature. If, therefore, this experiment works badly, the members of the legislature, who need stand in no fear of merely municipal suffrage, can repeal the law. This experiment you can make, and if it turns out unfortunately you can reverse your steps. I am speaking to the most cautious and conservative persons here. In view of the organization of the liquor traffic from sea to sea, and of those remarkably successes of female suffrage which have just been so strikingly summarized in your hearing, I raise the question whether it is not worth while to try this experiment of woman's municipal suffrage on the subject of license. [Applause.]

Thirty years ago woman could not vote anywhere. To-day she has full suffrage in Washington and Wyoming Territories; she has full municipal suffrage in Kansas; she has limited municipal suffrage in England and Scotland, and in Ontario and Nova Scotia, and she is asking for limited municipal suffrage here in Massachusetts. Let conservative men study this topic, and see how judicious it might be to try this experiment, and then act in view of the results of it.

I have now, Mr. Chairman, the very great pleasure of moving a vote of thanks for the eloquent and strategic address to which

we have just listened, and also an expression of our profound sympathy with the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in all its branches, national and international.

The motion was put by Dr. Gordon, and enthusiastically adopted by a rising vote.

LECTURE VI.

MAN AND SCRIPTURE AS LOCK AND KEY.

CARLYLE'S FINAL ESTIMATE OF GOETHE.

THOMAS CARLYLE wrote most significantly to Eckermann, the secretary and confidant of Goethe, only two years after the death of this man whom Carlyle had idolized: "Your Goethe seems to me now a great and serene promontory stretching far out into Chaos, *but not through it.*" Three propositions in our vexed day are of the utmost moment: —

1. Nothing stretches through Chaos except some granite pathway that provides for man a way of deliverance from both the love and the guilt of sin.

2. Many philosophies, ancient and modern, seem to stretch far out into Chaos; only the Way of Salvation, revealed in Christianity, stretches through it.

3. And, as Carlyle said in the very letter from which I have quoted, the world begins to seek a pathway that will lead through Chaos.

There is a spiritual Want in man. There is a Supply found in Scripture. Each perfectly matches the other.

The Want is the most important fact of human nature. The Supply is the most important fact of history.

When we see how the developments of a progressive system of thought and fact in the Sacred Books have matched this want age after age, and when we reflect that man's agency cannot account for this colossal correspondence, and that this supply is the only supply, we must admit in reason that *A* Supply is *God's* supply.

What is this Want? What is this Supply? Are man and Scripture related to each other as lock and key?

As a few cardinal points dominate a whole scheme of thought, I present in reply a series of propositions which appear to me

indispensable in our time to soundness of popular faith as well as of scholarly discussion. We must grasp indisputable essentials firmly, and so obtain peace in the midst of clamorous debate concerning details.

MAN'S WANT AND GOD'S SUPPLY.

1. There is nothing more fundamental in the gospel than its doctrines concerning the necessity of the new birth and of the Atonement.

2. There is nothing more fundamental in philosophy of the highest type than its assertion of the necessity of the soul's deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it.

3. These two indisputable fundamentals perfectly correspond with each other. They show that the gospel, if it is the truth, thoroughly meets man's highest spiritual necessities; it is the key that turns without forcing in the most intricate wards of the soul. If the gospel is the truth, it exactly meets the soul's wants and matches the desire of all nations.

4. The necessity of the new birth and of the atonement, however, is taught in the Old Testament as well as in the New. In the sacrificial rites of the Mosaic economy, and in almost numberless other details, the oldest Scriptures show the necessity of man's deliverance from the guilt of sin. The decalogue proclaims the necessity of the new birth.

It is not extravagant to say that the atonement, which is the heart of the gospel, is also the heart of the Pentateuch and of the Psalms and of the Prophets.

That a sacrifice for sin was needed and was to be made and was typified by the sacrifices of the earlier dispensation cannot be denied to be the teaching of the oldest Scriptures. These doctrines are in these writings, and no historic criticism changes this fact.

5. These two necessities are reiterated in all the teachings of Christ. He says of himself that He came not to destroy the law and the prophets but to fulfill them. He did so in regard to these two particulars beyond all question.

6. The same two necessities are emphasized by the apostles and by the whole body of the New Testament Scriptures.

7. They are emphasized by the apostolic churches and by all who have followed in the line of sound and undefiled faith and practice.

8. Here, then, beyond dispute, is unity in Scriptural teaching extending through ages.

9. The ideas involved in this unity are completely unmatched outside of the sacred Scriptures. This supply is the only supply. Christianity has no rival.

It has been well said that Plato never drew a perfect character; Shakespeare never did as much as that. But here in the New Testament is a picture of a perfect character, and of the only perfect character known to history, and that character himself assures us that He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

10. The correspondence between the want and the supply extending through ages is one of the wholly indisputable facts of history.

As there can be no doubt whatever that man's deepest want is the double deliverance from the love and guilt of sin, so there can be no doubt that a system of thought and a series of facts appear in the Holy Scriptures exactly adapted to meet that want.

11. A correspondence so extended and fundamental must have an adequate cause.

12. It cannot be explained as of merely human origin. Seen running side by side through many ages, these two lines of facts correspond astoundingly.

13. It is natural to suppose that Infinite Benevolence on the part of God has been reaching forth through all the ages to supply man's deepest need, namely, that of deliverance from both the guilt and the love of sin.

14. If the line of Scriptural facts showing the necessity of the new birth and of the atonement does not show that God has thus been reaching forth in a special manner, then nothing else shows it.

15. Natural law, taken alone, although supernatural in origin, has never been enough to bring into full and effective illumination the way of grace and pardon for man.

16. Christ came to fulfill the types of the Old Testament economy as a sacrifice and a ransom.

17. He came to complete the Creation by exhibiting man's nature at its climax.

18. He came to fulfill the law by perfectly obeying it.

19. He came to exhibit not only the necessity but the actuality of harmony with God ; and not only the necessity but the fact of an atonement.

20. In all this he came to fulfil in both letter and spirit the predictions existing in the Old Testament Scriptures as to Him who should come. He who should come is He who has come.

21. The all-astounding correspondences between these two lines of facts extending through so many ages, and so emphasized by the authority of Christ, are a moral demonstration of the supernatural origin and so of the trustworthiness and sufficiency of the religious teaching of the Scriptures. A supply, and the only supply of man's spiritual necessities, is God's supply.

Who constructed the lock of human nature? Beyond question God is the author of man's soul. But who constructed the key to human nature, the only key that matches its deepest spiritual necessities, that is, the Bible, with its doctrines of the new birth and the Atonement, or of the necessity of deliverance from both the love and the guilt of sin? How was this key produced? It is made up of many pieces, forged on many anvils by many hammers, wielded by many workmen in the forges of many centuries. Who guided these workmen so that their blows, when struck without collusion, should also be struck without collision? The sum of the Scriptural doctrines is a marvelous whole, a perfect unit, but it had a most multifarious origin. The hammers that beat out this key, and adapted it perfectly to the lock of human nature must have been divinely guided. Of all the hammers known to the spiritual forges of all time, they are the only ones that have produced any such key. It is evident that from the beginning of the blows which forged this key, one plan was kept in view through all the centuries and all the various unconnected human workmen until the key was perfected. This series of undisputable facts in the

forging of the key to man's nature goes far to show that He who made the Lock made the Key also. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF THE REV. DR. A. J. GORDON.

I am sure, dear friends, you would not pardon me if, as chairman of your committee, I did not give you an opportunity to express your appreciation of these Monday Lectures which have now reached their two-hundredth number. It certainly would have been a very marvelous thing to think of, as we might have anticipated it ten or twelve years ago, that two hundred lectures of such a character should be delivered at noonday in this place. But there is something quite as wonderful in the fact that to-day we have the two-hundredth audience gathered at noon to hear them. All can see that there must be some very close relation in the way of cause and effect between the lecturer and the audience. A young man who was searching for the secret of power asked Mr. Spurgeon one day very confidentially, "I wish you would tell me how it is you have managed for twenty-five years to fill your tabernacle morning and evening." And the great preacher said, "I have simply tried my best to fill the pulpit, leaving the people to fill the tabernacle." [Laughter.] And I suppose that it is because the chair of the Monday Lectureship has been so amply filled, that the chairs of Tremont Temple have also been so amply filled. [Applause.]

I need not remind you of the pains and the labor, nor of the occasional persecution, that have attended these Monday Lectures. This Joseph, like that other Joseph whose branches ran over the wall, has been sorely shot at by the archers. [Applause and laughter.] But we rejoice that like that same Joseph, his bow to-day abides in strength. [Applause.] It is very pleasant to have the good wishes of the respectable party, though you care nothing for the hatred and contempt of the criminal classes. But the great trouble with this Monday Lectureship is that it has alienated a few of the better sort. Is it supposed that this theological gladiator is here simply to make sport for us who fill this coliseum Monday after Monday? We hold that there has been a very practical outcome of it all. Some may think that it is unfortunate to alienate certain theologians and the

daily papers by condemning the theory of future probation, as has been done repeatedly on this platform. Men say to me, "It is a mere hypothesis, and why will Joseph Cook make so much fuss about it, lashing the ocean into a storm and waving a falchion to drown a fly, simply striking at an hypothesis?" Well, now, some of us think that this hypothesis is just what Coleridge described: "An ever-widening spiral *ergo* from the aperture of perhaps a single text." But that *ergo* has another *ergo* attached to it; therefore, let us put off repentance till to-morrow, though it is our duty to repent to-day, since we have a chance hereafter. There is something very practical in striking at such a matter as that, although it may for a time alienate the clergy in some quarters and the daily papers.

There is a grand movement on foot in the way of temperance, led by what Wendell Phillips used to call "The Beacon Street reformers." He sat yonder one day, almost the last time I ever saw him, and after he heard what was said here he remarked to me as we went out, "Well, I might as well retire; the temperance cause is in good hands; I think we can safely leave it there." A certain class of reformers have a theory that the way to destroy low dives is by high license. These men say, "Why cannot we all unite, bring together all the temperance forces, the license men and the prohibitionists, and the high license men and the low license men; why cannot we all unite and present a solid front?" But, said one of these politicians, "Your men like Joseph Cook smash all our plans; he will not work in our harness at all." [Laughter.] And why will he not? Because he does not believe that two men can pull in the same direction when one has his face toward the north, and the other has his face toward the south. And that is just the difference between license and prohibition. They pull in opposite directions, and there is no use to try to compromise or bridge over the difficulty. I remember that Frances Power Cobbe tells us that she heard two Irishmen talking in London, and that one of them said to a stranger, "Can you tell me how far it is to Hampstead Heath?" "Ten miles." He turned to his friend and said, "That makes it five miles apiece; we can easily do that." [Laughter.] How far is it to the abolition of the liquor traffic? The whole

length of prohibition ; and we must go the whole distance, every one of us. It is no use to divide it up between high license and low license. [Applause.] We have got to go the whole way. [Applause.]

The honor and the worth of this Boston Monday Lectureship is that it stands on principle and not on policy ; that it looks straight on, turning neither to the right nor to the left, advocating what is right. And let all of us, who believe we see the right, and think that the right is better than that which is merely politic, stand together and give our indorsement to the good, strong, true words that now for thirteen years have been spoken here. [Applause.]

BOOK NOTICES.

TROPICAL AFRICA. By HENRY DRUMMOND, LL. D., F. R. S. E., F. G. S.
Authorized Edition, with six maps and illustrations. New York : Scribner & Welford. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 228.

Travel, science, and reform are combined in this book in a fascinating way. The volume presents the author of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" as an intrepid explorer, a keen naturalist, and a sagacious political observer in tropical Africa. It describes with beautiful vividness, and yet with characteristic modesty Professor Drummond's tour up the rivers Zambesi and Shiré and through Lake Nyassa and to various points on the highlands between it and Lake Tanganyika. It makes positive contributions to science in various passages on the geology and zoology of East Central Africa, and especially in the highly original chapter on the white ant. But the most interesting parts of the volume are those on the slave-trade and the political future of the Dark Continent. Professor Drummond writes in the spirit of David Livingstone, to whom Africa was not simply a country to be explored, but one to be pitied and redeemed. He thinks that a man-of-war at the Arab capital, Zanzibar, with guns constantly pointing to the sultan's palace; a number of armed steamers on the Zambesi, the great lakes, and the Congo, which form such a magnificent water-way across Central Africa; and a few regiments and forts along the coasts and on the interior highlands, might effectually and easily suppress the slave-trade in Africa, and so incalculably hasten the regeneration of the Dark Continent.

The Germans, the Belgians, the English, and the Portuguese are crying out at present for territory in Central Africa. Meantime humanity is crying out for some one to administer the country; for some one to claim it, not by delimiting a frontier-line upon a map with colored crayons, but by seeing justice done upon the spot; for some one with a strong arm and a pitiful heart to break the Arab yoke and keep these unprotected children free.

Five years ago the British cruisers which had been for years engaged in suppressing the slave-trade were tempted to relax their efforts. They had done splendid service. The very sight of the great hull of the London, as she rocked in the harbor of Zanzibar, had a pacific influence; and as the caravans from the interior came and went at intervals of years and found the cruisers' cannon still pointing to their sultan's palace, they carried the fear of England over the length and breadth of Africa. The slave-trade was seriously discouraged, and, so far as the coast traffic was concerned, it was all but completely arrested. What work, up to this point, was done, was well done; but, after all, only half the task had ever been attempted. It was not enough to stop the sewer at its mouth; its sources in the heart of Africa should have been sought out and purified. But now that even the menace at Zanzibar no longer threatened the slavers, their work was

resumed with redoubled energy. The withdrawal of the London was interpreted to mean either that England conceived her work to be done or that she had grown apathetic and would interfere no more. The consequences were almost immediately disastrous. A new license to devastate, to murder, and to enslave was telegraphed all over Africa, and speedily found expression, in widely-separated parts of the country, in horrors the details of which can never be known to the civilized world.

The plain issue is now before the world: Is the Arab or the European henceforth to reign in Africa?

Africa is claimed by everybody, and it belongs to nobody. So far as the Nyassa region is concerned, while the Portuguese assert their right to the South and West, scarcely one of them has ever set foot in it; and while the Germans claim the North and East, their pretension is based neither upon right of discovery, right of treaty, right of purchase, right of conquest, nor right of possession, but on the cool audacity of some chartographer in Berlin, who, in delimiting a tract of country recognized as German by the London Convention of 1886, allowed his paintbrush to color some tens of thousands of square miles beyond the latitude assigned. To England it is a small matter politically who gets Africa. But it is of moment that those who secure the glory of annexation should not evade the duty of administration. The present condition of Africa is too critical to permit so wholesale a system of absentee landlordism; and it is the duty of England, so far at least as the Nyassa region is concerned, to insist on the various claimants either being true to their assumed responsibilities or abandoning a nominal sovereignty.

I do not presume to bring forward a formal proposal; but two things occur to one as feasible, and I shall simply name them. The first is for England, or Germany, or France, or some one with power and earnestness, to take a firm and uncompromising stand at Zanzibar. Zanzibar, as the Arab capital, is one of the keys of the situation, and any lesson taught here would be learned presently by the whole Mohammedan following in the country. The other key to the situation is the vast and splendid water-way in the heart of Africa, — the Upper Shiré, Lake Nyassa, Lake Tanganyika, and the great lakes generally. As a base for military or patrol operations nothing better could be desired than these great inland seas. A small steamer upon each of them, — or, to begin with, upon Nyassa and Tanganyika, — with an associated dépôt or two of armed men on the higher and healthier plateaux which surround them, would keep the whole country quiet. Only a trifling force of well-drilled men would be needed for this purpose. They might be whites, or blacks and whites; they might be Sikhs or Pathans from India; and the expense is not to be named considering the magnitude of the results — the pacification of the entire equatorial region — that would be achieved.

The barriers in the way of government action are only two, and neither is insurmountable. The one is Portugal, which owns the approaches to the country; the other is Germany, which has inland interests of her own. Whether England could proceed in the face of these two powers would simply depend on how it was done. As a mere political move such an occupation of the interior might at once excite alarm and jealousy. But wearing the aspect of a serious mission for the good of Africa, instigated not by the Foreign Office, but by the people of England, it is impossible to believe that the step could either be misunderstood or opposed. It is time the nations looked upon Africa as something more than a chessboard. And even if it were but a chessboard, the players on every hand are wise

enough to know that whatever is honestly done to relieve this suffering continent will react in a hundred ways upon the interests of all who hold territorial rights within it.

A beginning once made, one might not be unduly sanguine in anticipating that the meshes of a pacific and civilizing influence would rapidly spread throughout the country. Already the missionaries are pioneering everywhere, prepared to stay and do their part; and asking no more from the rest of the world than a reasonable guarantee that they should be allowed to live. Already the trading companies are there, from every nationality, and in every direction ready to open up the country, but unable to go on with any confidence or enthusiasm till their isolated interests are linked together and secured in the presence of a common foe. The territories of the various colonies are slowly converging upon the heart of Africa, and to unite them in an informal defensive alliance would not be impossible. With Emin Pasha occupying the field in the north; with the African Lakes Company, the British East African Association, and the German Association in the east; with the Congo Free State in the west, and the British Bechuanaland in the south, a cordon is already thrown around the great lakes region, which requires only to have its several parts connected with one another and with central forces on the lakes, to secure the peace of Africa. (Pp. 74-86.)

WOMAN IN the PULPIT. By FRANCES E. WILLARD, President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Boston: D. Lothrop Company. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 172.

Alert, original, strenuous, timely, and yet not wholly on the fashionable side of current church practice, this volume is likely to be spoken of by prejudiced critics as an example of special pleading; but we quite agree with Dr. Joseph Parker in the opinion that it will be much easier to sneer at Miss Willard's argument than to answer it. With admirable fairness and candor she has introduced into her volume the whole of Dr. Van Dyke's able, but, as we think, inconclusive reply to her positions. This is answered by an acute and powerful chapter from Professor Townsend. The crossing of swords by these two experts gives high interest to this book, as a presentation of what good scholarship has to say on both sides of a vexed question in church reform. A considerable portion of Miss Willard's argument having already appeared in *OUR DAY* in her two articles on "Woman as Preacher," we here complete for the present our references to this topic by placing in contrast with each other a few central passages from the exegetical explanations of Dr. Van Dyke and Professor Townsend.

Dr. Van Dyke's reply to Miss Willard concludes as follows:—

The Word of God expressly excludes and prohibits women from the work of the ministry. It is admitted that Christ, not Paul, is the source of all churchly authority and power. But then the question at issue in this discussion is, Who is the better qualified to know, and the more authorized to declare the mind of Christ, an inspired apostle of the first century or an uninspired woman of the nineteenth? As between these two we are of Paul. What he says, Christ says. So the Christian church has held in all ages, and will continue to hold even to the end of the centuries. "Whoever," says Miss Willard, "quotes to the intelligent and

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devout women of the American church to-day the specific instructions given by Paul to the illiterate and immoral women of Corinth does so at the expense of sound judgment, not to say scholarship." The testimony which it is thus attempted to strike out is as follows: "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. What! Came the word of God out from you, or came it unto you only?" On this passage we make the following observations:—

(1.) There is no kind of evidence that the women in the church at Corinth were either illiterate or immoral. The assertion that they were so is a gratuitous assumption to sustain a foregone conclusion.

(2.) The Apostle expressly declares that his instructions are not specific, or applicable only to that one church. He speaks not of Corinthian women, but of woman *as such*. He censures the church at Corinth for introducing a practice which was unknown elsewhere. "What! Came the word of God out from you?" "Is the church at Corinth the *mother Church*? Was it first established, or has it been alone in sending forth the word of God? You have adopted customs which are unusual. You have permitted women to speak in a manner unknown to other churches."¹

(3.) If the ignorance or immorality of these women had been the reason for the injunction of silence, Paul was man enough to say so. But he assigns very different reasons, which are universal and applicable even to the best of American women. This reason is twofold: *first*, it is contrary to the law, which enjoins the subordination of women; and *secondly*, it is a *shame* for women to speak in the church.

Both the injunction and the reason for it are repeated by the Apostle in a passage where the application cannot possibly be restricted to any church or any period of Christianity, because the reason is rooted in the history of creation and in the divinely appointed relation of the sexes. "I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." (1 Tim. ii. 12-14.)

We have no apology to offer for these words nor for the quotation of them. There is not space to expound their meaning and attempt to adjust them to the varied relations of our modern church life. It is not necessary, for the purposes of this discussion, to do so. For, whatever else they forbid or permit, they certainly do prohibit women from assuming the office of the Christian ministry. The real scholarship of the church has always so understood them. And, moreover, the great majority of women, especially of those who reverence their husbands and are loved by them even as Christ loved the church (Eph. vi. 25-33), bow to their authority, while their own womanly instincts confirm the wisdom of the teaching. And so we believe it will always be.

Professor Townsend's rejoinder contains these incisive passages:—

It is undeniably true that Paul expected women to preach; sent women out to preach; gave women directions how to preach; commended those who did preach, and gave the names of no fewer than twelve women whom he recognized as ministers of the gospel of Christ, designating them by the same word,

¹ Albert Barnes.

deacon (*διδάκτος*), that was applied even to Paul and Apollos, and employing the same word, prophesy (*προφητεία*), in describing what women deacons were to do as was used in describing the preaching of the apostles.¹

At the outset (Acts vi. 1-6), seven men were ordained for the purpose of ministering in the temporal affairs of the church, especially in the distribution of charities; but after a time the office was enlarged, so that two at least of the original seven deacons became preaching evangelists (Acts vi. 8-10 and viii. 5-8), and the term "deacon" was extended so as to be applied even to the leading apostles. In 1 Cor. iii. 5, Paul styles himself and Apollos not preachers but deacons. Compare 1 Tim. 12; Acts xx. 24; Col. iv. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Rom. xii. 7; Eph. iv. 12; 2 Cor. vi. 3 and iv. 1, where "deaconship" is the exact rendering of the Greek word for "ministry."

In support of the view that women were elected and ordained deacons in the Christian ministry, Dr. Daniel Steele furnished us with these observations:—

"The case of Deacon Phœbe is not solitary, though the English translators are disposed to hide her office under the term 'servant,' which is well enough if they had applied the same term to the male deacons. Paul gave explicit directions respecting the ordination of women deacons in 1 Tim. iii. 11. Here the translators have put a bushel over the deaconesses by using the word 'wives.'"

We may go a step further than that taken by the author of the "Counter Argument," and show that women are authorized to enter the ministry by facts that took place in the early history of the Christian church. Justin Martyr (A. D. 150) says:—

"Both men and women were seen among them who had the extraordinary gifts of the spirit of God, according as the prophet Joel had foretold, by which he endeavored to convince the Jews that the latter days were come."

"Eusebius speaks of Potomania Annias, a propheteess, in Philadelphia, and others, who were equally distinguished for their love and zeal in the cause of Christ."

"Every church was composed of three constituent parts: First, teachers, who were also intrusted with the government of the community, according to the laws; second, ministers of *each sex*; and third, the multitude of the people.' He also says: '. . . The church had ever belonging to it, even from its very first rise, a class of ministers composed of persons of either sex, and who were termed deacons and deaconesses.' " (Mosheim, "History of Christianity.")

Such is the evidence for the statement that women are authorized to enter the ministry. They are authorized by our Lord, in the Gospels; they are authorized by the apostles, in the Acts; they are authorized by Paul, in his Epistles; and they are authorized by the prevailing custom of the church throughout its early history. If in all this there is not authority, we would like to be informed as to the kind and amount of authority that would be satisfactory to those who, on these grounds, are fighting the admission of women to the Christian ministry.

In support of the universality of Paul's prohibition, the doctor, it will be noticed, makes two remarkable statements. First, "There is no kind of evidence that the women in the church at Corinth were either illiterate or immoral. The assertion that they were so is a gratuitous assumption to sustain a foregone conclusion."

¹ In confirmation of these various statements, see Rom. xvi. 1, 3, 4; Acts xviii. 26; xxi. 9, 10; Gal. iii. 26; 1 Cor. xi. 5; Phil. iv. 3.

We are sorry, but we are compelled, in the interests of truth, to echo the last of the foregoing words, This assertion of the doctor "is a gratuitous assumption to sustain a foregone conclusion."

Farrar speaks of the Corinthian church as "largely composed of slaves and women." Conybeare and Howson, referring to a compliment paid the women of the Corinthian church by Clement, say, "Those women must, therefore, have been greatly changed since the time when (as Paul describes) fornication, wantonness, and impurity were the characteristics of their society." Says Dr. Schaff, "'To live as at Corinth' was a proverb meaning profligate indulgence, and the name 'Corinthian' applied to a woman was infamous." He also speaks of the "lax state of sexual morals" in the church.

Bearing in mind, what is generally acknowledged, that women in their goodness are better than men, but in their badness are worse, and keeping in mind the fact that these women to whom Paul referred (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35) belonged to a church where the members were drunk at the communion service, and were guilty of sins too gross to mention, we can see abundant reason for special prohibitions.¹ Corinthian women, even to-day, are described by missionaries as "ignorant, prattling, noisy, disturbers of their meetings." Mrs. Joralmán, a returned missionary, a most estimable and intelligent lady, well replied, when asked, "What did Paul mean when he said, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches?'" "If you had been in the East, where I have been, and seen what I have, you would not need to ask that question. When the women come together for any kind of service, it is almost impossible to keep them from talking about anything they see and hear. If the speaker says anything they don't understand, they stop him by asking questions, and sometimes all get to talking at once."

There were *some* of the women of that country "where people reveled in the excesses of wealth and luxury; where they abandoned themselves to vice and profligacy; where hundreds of bold courtesans appeared on the streets and in public places; where the name 'Corinthian,' as applied to a woman, meant a bad character; where virtuous women, for their own protection, had to go veiled; where the worship of Venus was attended with a shameful licentiousness; and where the low ideas of morals, resulting in 'uncleanliness, and fornication, and lasciviousness,' endangered the life of the church," whom Paul had in mind when he said, "Let your women," or "Let the women in *your* church assemblies," "keep silence." Doubtless Miss Willard, had she been there, would have given a similar recommendation.

And yet in that church were *some* women who were authorized to minister, though they were advised to have their heads covered, which in Corinth was a mark that would separate them from the lewd women of the city. But for that covering these women preachers would have been exposed to the same insults that were heaped upon the disreputable.

Professor Townsend's reply to the famous passage (1 Tim. ii.), "I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man," should be read in full. We are convinced by the reasons appended to this statement of St. Paul that he intended it to be of universal and permanent application. But to hold that woman should not have authority over man does not prevent our believing, as we do most heartily, that woman's sphere in the church, as well

¹ Comp. 1 Cor. v. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; vi. 9, 10, 15-18; x. 8; xv. 33, 34.

as in the school and the state, should be greatly broadened, and that *some* women may have a providential call to enter the pulpit.

There is a thriving town in Kansas, called Oskaloosa, in which women have been recently elected to the positions of mayor and aldermen. We would greatly broaden woman's sphere, as experience shall dictate ; but we would not *Oskaloosify* the army, the navy, the school, the state, or the church.

Women's sphere has enlarged so vastly within a recent period that her success in spheres analogous to the pulpit may be fairly quoted as an indication of her fitness for many branches of the sacred profession. She who has written "Uncle Tom's Cabin" or "Aurora Leigh" certainly does not lack mental, moral, or spiritual fitness for the ministry. No one thinks of denying woman's right to preach in print ; why may it not be that some women have a Divine call to preach in the pulpit ? Woman as lecturer has won a high place in great reformatory movements. If the womanliness or queenliness of a Mrs. Livermore, a Mrs. Leavitt, a Mrs. Hunt, has not been diminished, but rather ennobled and glorified by prolonged and varied work on the platform, why should it be by the work of the pulpit ? If woman has often physical strength, as these examples show that she has, to address great audiences and to suffer the fatigues of travel, why has she not physical strength enough to bear the burdens of a preacher and pastor ? We see no good reason for denying that some and perhaps many women have eminent natural endowments for the ministry. Woman's spiritual and intellectual and social qualities certainly do not disqualify her for this work, nor in many cases do her physical limitations forbid it.

There is now an increasing amount of work done for woman within both Christian and missionary fields, and much of this woman can herself do far better than man. Woman is woman's natural helper. And yet, other things being equal, there is a most subtle difference between the spiritual help an audience of men receives from a woman's speech and that which it receives from a man's speech. It is fair to say that, as there is much work that man can do for woman better than woman can do the same work, so there is much work that woman can do for man better than man could do it.

What Scriptural authority can be quoted of greater weight than the Divine command not to keep a light under a bushel, or talents in a napkin ? Undoubtedly the home is woman's chief sphere ; but if remarkable spiritual and intellectual gifts indicate a Divine call to any woman to be an author, a lecturer, or even a preacher, how is she to find excuse for disobedience to such indications of Providence ?

It would in nearly every case be better, no doubt, that woman as a preacher, as well as man as a preacher, should be married ; but there are exceptions to this rule that have been justified by experience, both as to man and as to woman.

If woman is to enter the pulpit, she must of course prepare for its work with as much thoroughness as man does ; if she once takes up the tasks of the ministry, she must show that she can perform them, or some part of

them, at least, as well as man does. The stern law of the survival of the fittest will be sure to prevail in this department of the struggle for existence, as well as elsewhere.

The balance and the profoundness of St. Paul's words as to man and woman are their own sufficient justification, but the most vital, organizing, and redemptive of them all appear to us to be these (1 Cor. xi.) :—

The man is not of the woman,
But the woman of the man.
Neither was the man created for the woman,
But the woman for the man.
*Neither is the woman without the man in the Lord,
Nor is the man without the woman in the Lord.*

Hand in hand, man and woman build the home ; hand in hand they ought to build the state and the church. Hand in hand they left an earthly Paradise Lost ; hand in hand they are likely to enter, if at all, an earthly Paradise Regained.

THE ETHICS OF MARRIAGE. By H. S. POMEROY, M. D. Boston. With a Prefatory Note by Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D., LL. D., New York, and an Introduction by the Rev. G. T. Duryea, D. D., Boston. New York : Funk & Wagnalls. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 192.

A subject of commanding present importance is treated in Dr. Pomeroy's "Ethics of Marriage" with the utmost propriety of tone and expression ; with adequate knowledge, both theoretical and practical ; with unflinching thoroughness and courage in the exposure of the evil ; and with a reformatory purpose worthy of both the man of science and the Christian.

Professor Thomas Addis Emmet, the eminent specialist who contributes the prefatory note, makes these alarming references to the crimes discussed in this volume :—

You have stated the case in as strong terms as could be done in a work written chiefly for the public. I sincerely hope that it may bring forth good fruit, but I have my doubts. Those who take means to prevent conception, or who seek the aid of the abortionist, are not, as a rule, ignorant, but they are indifferent as to all religious obligation. I have been in practice over thirty-six years, and for twenty-six years it has been devoted entirely to the treatment of the diseases peculiar to women. As a result of this experience, I can in all truth state the fact that these sins are not committed by the Jews or Catholics. I cannot recall a single instance of either practice where the individual lived up to her belief ; so long as she was what the Catholics term "practical" in practice they were pure. Every Jew and every Catholic is taught the duties of married life. Each child born is accepted as an additional evidence of God's especial favor. The Catholic is taught to regard marriage as one of the sacraments, and the slightest deviation from all pertaining to such a belief is a mortal sin. . . . I honestly wish you success in your crusade against these sins of the people, but nothing can be accomplished unless you have the aid of the Protestant clergymen.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY THE REV. R. G. MCNIECE OF SALT LAKE CITY.

39. *What do recent meetings, among the Mormons, show as to the sincerity of their claim that polygamy will be abandoned if Utah should become a State under the proposed new constitution?*

The speeches at the annual Mormon Conference, held in this city the first week in April, demonstrated, beyond all doubt, that the proposed abandonment of polygamy is nothing but a hollow swindle, intended to deceive the American people, and secure the votes of trading politicians in Congress for the admission of Utah as a State. One of the speakers at the conference, who occupies a high official position in the priesthood, openly advocated polygamy as one of the revealed doctrines of the church, which they must not give up. Here is what he said, substantially: "The doctrine of celestial marriage is one of the true and glorious principles revealed through the prophet Joseph, and God will requite it upon this generation if they continue in their attempt to prevent God's Israel from carrying out this blessed principle of the faith handed down to us by God's revealed will. Upon obedience to this great command, and the other essential principles of our faith, depends our eternal salvation."

Another of the speakers was the notorious Rudger Clawson, who was released from the penitentiary last fall, after having served out a term of three years for the crime of polygamy. According to the new Mormon constitution, adopted last July, this man, being a polygamist both in profession and practice, ought to be treated as a criminal. But instead, the church authorities treat him as a hero, and reward him for his crime by promoting him to the presidency of the Brigham City Stake, or district.

This man was one of the prominent speakers at the conference, and devoted most of his speech to a eulogy of those who, like himself, went to the penitentiary rather than obey the law of the United States against polygamy. He said the people ought to be willing "to suffer, to go to prison, to lose their liberties and family associations for their faith, and if they are not willing to do this, they are not fit candidates for the kingdom of God."

He concluded his speech in the following words, substantially: "The Lord has revealed to us the principle of celestial marriage, and by his help we will honor it, and not make a promise to abandon this any more than any other principle of our faith. One is just as good and as necessary as another, and all should be honored alike."

Notice the self-contradiction—one set of Mormon officials in Washington

urging Congress to admit Utah as a State, on the ground that polygamy has been abandoned, because these people have adopted an anti-polygamy constitution, and another set of Mormon officials here in Salt Lake City urging the people to stand by polygamy, because it is a revelation from God essential to salvation, and eulogizing as heroes and martyrs the men who refuse to obey the law of the land against it! Still, there are senators and representatives in Congress who ask, with an air of injured innocence, "And why should not this anti-polygamy constitution be accepted as ample proof of the sincerity of our dear Mormon friends?"

On Monday, May 21, there was a gathering of several thousand Mormons at Manti, 125 miles southeast of Salt Lake City, to dedicate another great temple costing about one million dollars. One of the objects of these temples is to promote plural marriages. And all the talk of the various apostles and elders in their speeches to the people, at this dedication, about obeying the priesthood and living up to their "privileges," and being willing to suffer persecution, had reference to standing by polygamy, although the name was not mentioned. Being compelled to obey the same laws of the land against polygamy as all other people, this the Mormons consider "persecution." And so, when Apostle Lorenzo Snow, who suffered "persecution" in the penitentiary, for the crime of polygamy, eulogized the elders who endured persecution, it was simply another way of urging all the people to stand by polygamy.

40. *What are the prospects of the non-Mormon schools, churches, and business interests in Utah?*

Never better. These schools and churches all over the Territory, and especially in this city, were never so prosperous as now. But it is no time for the Eastern friends of education in Utah to slacken their support. They should be pushed forward all the more vigorously now that the prospect for the speedy Americanization of the Territory is so good.

It seems now quite probable that before the next city election, in February, 1890, the Americans will have the majority in this city.

More families have come into this city to make their homes here, during the past four months, than during the previous four years. A new social and commercial era has begun in this city. Probably two million dollars' worth of property has passed from Mormon to American hands here during the past twelve months.

41. *What is the best non-Mormon opinion in Utah of the last report of the Utah Commissioners?*

I have never heard but one opinion about it, and that is, that it is by far the ablest and best report, in every way, that the Commission has ever sent out. In my judgment, it gives to the American people more important facts which they ought to know about the anti-republican form of government here, and the outrageous tyranny of the priesthood, than all the other reports of the Commission put together.

REPLY BY THE REV. DR. A. J. GORDON.

42. *What is the impression made in Great Britain by the recent Papal Rescript?*

It is a subject which is now producing a tremendous agitation in two directions. The vigorous kicks of the Irish leaders of the Home-Rule party against the decree, and their open avowal that they will tolerate no interference from Rome, has cut the Holy Father to the heart. The Irish ecclesiastics are coming to his help, calling upon good Catholics to obey on peril of excommunication, and saying in the words of one of their most eminent Bishops: "It is no longer a matter of opinion, *Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*" But, without question, there is a wide-spread rebellion of Irishmen against the decree. This is sufficiently indicated by the words of Bishop O'Dwyer, spoken yesterday before the clergy of Limerick. He declared that "he had noticed the craft with which Catholic feelings were worked upon by the leaders of the agitation, and anonymous theologians who hinted that the Bishops were really opposed to the decree, and that their repudiation of it was quite consistent with their duty as Catholics. Such men went to meetings, and cheered language disreputable to the Pope. *There never had been in Ireland since St. Patrick planted the faith a greater scandal, or more injury done to religion, than this most deplorable agitation.*" This last sentence indicates clearly enough the difficulty which the Irish prelates are finding in bringing the people to submit to the Pope's authority in this matter.

As for the view of Englishmen — many of them are as thoroughly outraged as their neighbors of Ireland, but for a different reason. They say the rescript comes not from the Pope, but is known to have issued from the Inquisition at Rome; that it is really the first stroke of a crafty policy aiming at the ultimate recapture of the English throne. At the great Protestant commemoration held last week in Exeter Hall, Dr. Wylie — a very eminent authority on such subjects — gave a masterly address on this topic. His array of facts and arguments is very convincing, and his words are a trumpet call to Englishmen that the Papal siege against the British throne has begun, and is to be carried on with all the tact and persistency of which the Jesuits are such consummate masters.

London, June 20.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

As the Whig party once refused to take ground against slavery, so the Republican party now refuses to take ground against a greater evil. The Republican platform adopted at Chicago contains no utterance whatever on the greatest of the national perils. It evades and ignores the whole subject of the liquor traffic. As the Whig party was once on its knees to the slave oligarchy, so, it is to be feared, the working force of the Republican party is now on its knees to the whiskey oligarchy. The prospect is ominous and alarming. The Whig party was driven from power because it became a slave-hound; the Republican party will be driven from power if it becomes a whiskey-spaniel.

As independents in politics, we are induced by the omissions in the Republican platform to support the Prohibitionists. No worthy principle is championed by the Republican party that is not also supported by the Prohibition party, while the latter is as superior to the former in attacking the chief national peril, as the Republican party was once superior to the Whig party in the same respect. As the Republican party once deserved to succeed against the Whig party, when the former opposed slavery and the latter was afraid to attack it, so now the Prohibition party deserves to succeed against the Republican party because the former opposes the liquor traffic and the latter is afraid to attack it.

The anti-saloon Republicans were allowed to have no representation of their views in the platform adopted at Chicago. It had been expected that a strong declaration would be issued, if not for prohibition then at least for high license and local option. Several prominent representatives of non-partisan prohibitionists pleaded for the insertion in the platform of some strong clause denouncing the liquor traffic as a great moral, social, and political evil. They produced no effect whatever. Not a few Republican journals have held out the hope that the platform would contain a strong temperance plank and so counteract the influence of the Prohibition platform. The Republican party at Chicago dared not declare in favor of even high license. Perhaps the leaders remembered that the Methodist bishops in the great New York Conference, representing more than four millions of Americans, had affirmed that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin. Perhaps they noticed that the Presbyterian General Conference at Philadelphia took the same ground, and denied church-membership to rum-sellers. Possibly, also, the gold of the whiskey rings had the same effect upon the convention that the cotton dust of the slaveholders once had upon the platforms of the Whig party. The certainty is that the hopes of non-partisan prohibitionists and of temperance people generally have been disappointed. The Republican party dares not utter a syllable to offend the whiskey vote.

As it can now be seen in the light of history that it was once the duty of all honorable citizens, however inexpedient such action might have looked at the time, not to vote for any party that was on its knees to the slave power, so now it is, as we believe, the duty of all honorable men not to vote for any party that is on its knees to the liquor traffic. The saloon in the saddle is to-day a greater evil than the South in the saddle.

— After the foregoing editorial note was written, the Republican Convention, at the last moment of its sitting, adopted hurriedly, on motion of Colonel Boutelle of Maine, the following weak and evasive resolution on the temperance question :—

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

This plank is too small for serious temperance men to swim on. It is less definite and emphatic than several of the resolutions lately adopted by the Liquor Dealers' National Protective Association. The deliverances of the Republican party and those of the liquor dealers may be placed in parallel columns to the serious damage of the former.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the personal rights and liberties of citizens.

[In certain contingencies] we favor the entire repeal of the internal taxes [including those on whiskey].

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

NATIONAL LIQUOR DEALERS.

Resolved, That we are unalterably opposed to prohibition, general or local, as an invasion of the rights of the citizens.

Resolved, That we are in favor of both public and private morality and good order and popular education.

Resolved, That we most earnestly favor temperance and most strongly condemn intemperance.

Of these two utterances, the postscript to the Republican platform is the superior specimen of evasive generality.

The Republican party declares itself ready, in certain contingencies, to abolish the internal revenue taxes on whiskey, but not to prohibit its manufacture. This procedure would flood the land with free whiskey. The impolicy and even the immorality of such action has been well exposed by Mr. Blaine himself. In a public letter dated at Paris, December 7, he said :—

Other considerations than those of financial administration are to be taken into account with regard to whiskey. There is a moral side to it. To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase its consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many States if the national government neutralizes the good effect by making whiskey within reach of every

one at twenty cents a gallon. Whiskey would be everywhere distilled if the surveillance of the government were withdrawn by the remission of the tax, and illicit sales could not then be prevented even by a policy as rigorous and searching as that with which Russia pursues the Nihilists. It would destroy high license at once in all the States. . . . So long as there is whiskey to tax, I would tax it. . . . The tax on whiskey by the federal government, with its suppression of all illicit distillation and consequent enhancement of price, has been a powerful agent in the temperance reform by putting it beyond the reach of so many.

The Prohibition party and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union would abolish the internal revenue taxes on whiskey and then prohibit its manufacture. The real difference between this position and that of the Republican party is practically that between no whiskey and free whiskey.

TOKIO is the brain of Japan. What Tokio thinks Japan thinks. The University of Japan, organized when the influences of a now largely outgrown agnostic school of thought were especially powerful in London, is yet sufficiently belated to be agnostic in its philosophical and religious position. A transitional era of immense importance is now passing in the Land of the Rising Sun. Within comparatively few years, this empire of nearly forty million inhabitants prohibited under penalty of death the teaching of that Christianity which it now seems almost ready to welcome. While the usual methods of teaching and preaching are to be employed in full force, certain unusual methods are recommended by those best acquainted with the exigencies of the situation. It was proposed several years ago by the Rev. Mr. Eby, our editor in Tokio, that courses of lectures in defense and illustration of Christianity be given in Tokio for the benefit of the educated classes. He gave several such courses himself with extraordinarily encouraging results. The British Minister presided at some of the lectures; they have had wide usefulness in their published form. Mr. Eby and his friends desire to erect a hall for a Central Mission in Tokio where such apologetic lectures can be regularly delivered, a library gathered, and the highest Christian influences brought to bear upon the educated classes and so upon the whole nation. An attempt to unite all the missions in support of such a scheme has unfortunately not succeeded as yet; but the powerful Methodist mission, to which Mr. Eby belongs, has taken it up and will no doubt carry it to eminent success. We most cordially commend this enterprise to the support of the wealthy and generous. Mr. Eby, whose address is 18 Kasumicho, Azabu, Tokio, Japan, writes as follows:—

In the spring of the year 1887, shortly after my return to Japan, the council of the Methodist Church of Japan (Canada Mission) sent home a request that an appeal be made to the church at large to raise the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to open the work. During the remainder of the year, and until our annual meeting in April of this year, my time has been fully taken up with regular evangelistic visitation. At the annual meeting the brethren, while rejoicing in the unusual increase of sixty per cent. in our membership during the year, felt that the time had come for a more decided step towards the fulfillment of our hopes of

the Central Mission that had been talked of so long, and so the following resolutions were passed : —

"Whereas, Tokio is in a peculiar sense the centre of influence in Japan, social and political, moral and religious, and notwithstanding the distribution of learning throughout the empire and the noble efforts made by the various Christian missions to reach every part of the land, it appears from the present trend of affairs that this great central influence of the capital will long continue, as it now is, to be the leading and moulding force which will direct the advance of the nation. And whereas the official and educational classes of the capital are centred largely in the neighborhood of Kanda, Hongo, etc., and as it is of the utmost importance that we should make our influence felt on the intellectual life of the nation, we deem it advisable to begin work at once by opening a mission in that neighborhood. And whereas, several members of our mission are stationed in Tokio as teachers in the Oriental Anglo-Japanese College so that they are available for such service.

"Therefore resolved : —

"I. That a new mission be opened in Tokio, in some place convenient to the University and other great schools of the city, to be known as the 'Central Mission' of the Methodist Church in Japan.

"II. The object of this mission shall be : 1st. To preach and defend the vital doctrines of Christianity. 2d. To conduct regular Sabbath and week evening services, lecture meetings, prayer meetings, etc., as circumstances may indicate or require, special attention being given to Ethics and Apologetics, Scriptural exposition, and Evangelistic work. 3d. The organization and pastoral care of a regular society according to our disciplinary methods.

"III. Property : For the purposes indicated in the above section we shall require a church capable of accommodating one thousand people or upwards, involving, 1st. A site which may be rented for a moderate annual outlay. 2d. A building which, according to estimates now in hand, can be constructed at a minimum of 3,000 yen, and be furnished for say 2,000. 3d. For current expenses a sum of say 400 yen per annum. All property and money to be used for the purposes of this mission shall be held and controlled by the council in the usual way.

"IV. Ways and Means : 1st. There is to our credit, for this purpose, cash, (\$1,496 gold) fourteen hundred and ninety-six dollars, and (\$150) one hundred and fifty in reliable subscriptions, amounting to a total sum of \$1,640 gold, or over 2,000 yen. 2d. The balance of the 5,000 yen required to start the mission is proposed to be raised as follows : (a) Amount which it is thought can be raised by subscription in Japan — yen 1,000. (b) It is recommended that we ask the Board at home to grant one thousand dollars (\$1,000) for this special purpose. (c) The balance to be raised by special subscriptions.

"V. Management : (1.) The Rev. C. S. Eby was appointed to the charge of the work connected with the 'Central Mission' as set forth in the previous resolutions. (2.) The Revs. C. S. Eby, R. Whittington, and T. A. Large were appointed a committee for the selection of site, the erection of buildings, and to conduct the business connected with the establishing of the Central Mission."

I recount these historical steps in order that it may be seen that this undertaking is not a personal affair, nor the result of one man's thinking. Every one feels the need of the work, but no one seems yet to have seen the way to put it into practical form. My church and mission have seen fit to appoint me to this work, and now I appeal not only to them but also to sympathizers in Japan and in every

land, of every church, because, although we do hope to raise up a church by means of the undertaking, yet the overflow influence of the work done will extend far and wide, and be reaped very largely by other churches as well as our own.

Since the annual meeting decided to act we have been looking for a suitable site. We find it almost or quite impossible to rent, but have the opportunity to buy, in a very suitable location, a lot large enough for the present plan for \$3,500. We are in hopes that this amount will also be forthcoming through the liberality of Christian sympathizers.

The appeal now for \$9,000 contemplates a temporary building of the cheapest and simplest style and on the smallest scale commensurate with the idea of the undertaking. If even this is given, we hope that, success breeding success, money would soon be forthcoming for realization of larger hopes.

We expect to begin in August or September of the present year to build according to our means with the hope of opening the lecture hall at least by the beginning of the year 1889.

We think it important to include in our record of expert opinion concerning current reform, the following cool and deliberate opinions of Senator Edmunds and Senator Chandler on recent political outrages in the Southern States : —

At first we saw the reign of the Ku-klux and the shot-gun policy, so called, which, later on, gradually and naturally changed, in the main, to methods of mere terror to repress voting, and of fraud in the false counting of votes and false returns; the purpose ever being to solidify and retain the political power in all its branches in the hands of the white aristocracy in those States. By every such success not only mere local control has been secured, and great bodies of citizens as really disfranchised as if they were in prison, but there has been a great augmentation of the strength of that party in the national House of Representatives, because the whole population in those States is now counted as a basis of representation, while before the abolition of slavery only three fifths of the slave population were an element in representation.

In respect of the repression of practical political rights in many of the States referred to, it has now come to be admitted that such repression does exist; and it is defended upon the plea that the government of these States, and so their representation in Congress and their voice in the elections of Presidents, must, for the social welfare of all, be kept in the hands of those who assume themselves to be the intelligent and conservative class of the community. But this is the very essence of the plea of all tyrants everywhere. It is true enough that intelligence is better than ignorance, and that affairs can be better managed by those who are skillful and capable than by those who are not. But no just test has yet been found in human experience for determining the practical application of these principles, and liberty and real social security have always found their only refuge, in the long run, in the full and free participation by the whole body of citizens in the management of affairs. The evils flowing from the ignorance of voters are confessedly great, but those are infinitely greater which come from the assumption of authority and power by minorities in communities. If the practice in common use in some of the States referred to were applied to some of the old free States, with the same motives and with the same ends, their political character would be effectually changed. An ignorant voter is just as dangerous in New York or Massachusetts or New Jersey as he is in South Carolina or Louisiana or Texas; and if

the notions that are put forward in defense of the practices which blot out the votes of a great class of the community in one State are defensible there, they are equally defensible in every other State. — *Senator George F. Edmunds in the Forum for June*, pp. 483-485.

The political control of the United States is now in the hands of a Southern oligarchy as persistent and unrelenting as was that which plunged the nation into the slaveholders' rebellion. Its members own President Cleveland, constitute the majority in the national House of Representatives, and include twenty-four of the thirty-seven Democrats of the Senate, where thirty-eight Northern Republicans, aided by one from the South, precariously hold nominal control. This complete Southern domination of the government is as evidently founded on the colored people of the South as it was when the cries and groans of the bondmen invoked the vengeance of Heaven on their oppressors. Then, as now, the negroes entered into the basis of representation in Congress and the electoral colleges. Now, as then, the negroes have no voice or vote in the elections; but the white men vote for them and wield their power, and thereby rule the North and the nation.

The North is supposed to have conquered. The Union is saved in form. The terms of peace, reunion, and reconciliation were the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery; the Fourteenth, omitting the colored people from the basis of representation in States where they are not allowed to vote; and the Fifteenth, giving to colored citizens the ballot in all elections, state or national. The Thirteenth Amendment alone is in force; the Fourteenth and Fifteenth are a dead letter, openly and flagrantly disobeyed. Suffrage at the South for the black man does not exist; for the white man even it is almost a farce. A few leaders in each State, combining with similar coteries in other States, form an oligarchy which wields the whole political power of the solid South. United with the Democratic party of the North, who expect to control by corruption or fraud a few Northern States, their "plan of campaign" is exactly what it was before 1860. Our later Southern masters are not different from those of former years. They are able, always alert, and whenever not opposed are plausible, courteous, and full of kind and patriotic professions; resisted, their gentleness proves like that of tigers; they become fierce and defiant, sometimes brutal.

The North needs to undeceive itself. The South is in the saddle, and it means to stay there. It has the executive branch of the government, it almost controls the legislative, it is reaching forward to the judicial branch. It threatens the manufacturing and all other industries of the North. It means to hold in its hands the decision of all our national questions, those of foreign policy, tariff, finance, internal improvements, and all expenditures, and to "get even" with the North on account of the temporary ascendancy of the latter during the era of rebellion and reconstruction. The South will not again make the mistake of secession. It is easier and safer to rule the nation from the inside. The power which the election of 1864 gave will not be relinquished if murder and fraud at the South, and unlimited corruption and fraud in New York city, can retain it. If another Democratic administration is elected, the Northern people will soon realize what the new Southern control involves, and will be loaded to the full with the burdens of which our Southern masters during the last three years have imposed only a small part.

Although in the coming contest the votes of the negro will be unconstitutionally suppressed, and the South perhaps solidly Democratic, our Southern masters can be defeated if the commercial interests of the country are sufficiently aroused.

They will do well to take the alarm. The indifference of the business men of the North to the encroachments of slavery made the war possible, and compelled the expenditure of six thousand millions to preserve the Union. It is better to protect our industries by a contest now, when they are yet undestroyed, than to fight to restore them after they have been stricken down and chains are riveted upon our limbs.

If victory is achieved, the conditions of reconstruction enforced, obedience to the constitution in all its parts compelled, and the vote of the Northern man, white or black, made equal to that of the Southern man, white or black, neither the North nor the South need fear negro supremacy. — *Senator William E. Chandler in the Forum for June, pp. 507-520.*

NEVER before in history has cosmopolitan Christianity been so impressively symbolized as by the World's Missionary Conference at London from June 9 to 19, and yet only Protestantism was represented. There were some fifteen hundred delegates. The unity of sentiment exhibited was the most noteworthy feature of the discussions. The demand for greater unity among Protestant denominations in the work of missions was undoubtedly the most emphatic and significant of all the suggested reforms. Three millions of converts have been added to the church from pagan lands within the last hundred years. And yet the most careful statisticians estimate that there are now two hundred millions more heathen in the world than there were when Protestant missions began a hundred years ago.

THE Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward of the "Independent" appears in a new character, as author of "An Invocation," a poem written during his recent period of enforced rest in Chambers Street hospital, and in many ways so remarkable and significant that we republish it as striking a most timely key-note in literary reform. The power and beauty of this production will cause many of Dr. Ward's friends to wish that he may not, like Bayard Taylor, sacrifice himself in his higher work as a poet too much to his relatively lower work as an editor.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. II. — AUGUST, 1888. — No. 8.

AGGRESSIVE COÖPERATION OF EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

THE question of method is one of strategic importance. The triumphs of inventive genius which have wrought such miracles in the mechanical world are all triumphs of method. No man has ever created a principle or an ounce of power. New inventions are only new applications of old principles or new methods of applying power already existing. Yet method has made all the difference between ox-cart and railroad civilization.

There are many men living who have seen radical changes in the methods of transportation, of manufacture, of business. A man who should content himself with the methods of a generation ago would speedily be driven to the wall. New conditions make new methods necessary. Certainly the church in the United States is surrounded with new conditions. The habits of the people as to Sabbath observance and church attendance have undergone important changes. Unbelief has been popularized. New customs have obtained. Classes have become more distinct. Population has become more heterogeneous; and in our cities the foreign elements largely preponderate. And yet the methods of the church remain substantially unchanged. May we not thus account for the fact that the church has so largely lost its hold on the multitude?

But is not church membership gaining on the population? We are reminded that at the beginning of the century only one in fourteen of the population was in some evangelical church, while now there is one in five. It is true that in the country at large the church is gaining on the population; and it is also true that upon large classes it is losing its hold, while in our great cities rapidly advancing populations are leaving the church behind. But even though the church in the whole country is gaining on the population, the number of the unsaved is steadily and rapidly increasing. In 1800 there were less than 5,000,000 people outside the evangelical churches; now there are 48,000,000 not included in that membership. While that membership increased less than 12,000,000, the population not included in it increased 43,000,000. Can it be supposed that Christ is satisfied with such travail of his soul? And if the Master is not satisfied, his disciples have no right to be.

Of course it is not implied that all outside of evangelical churches are unsaved, but it is fair to infer that the increase of the one class marks a corresponding increase of the other. There are, then, more than nine times as many unsaved souls in the United States now as there were at the beginning of the century.

The question is not whether the progress of the church affords occasion for rejoicing, but whether the results are equal to what might be reasonably expected from the use of the best practical methods.

If all the labor and love and self-sacrifice of the church for a year resulted in the salvation of but one soul, it would be worth while, and the angels in heaven would rejoice. It would be paying a finite price for an infinite value. But if, on the other hand, one man should win a thousand souls to Christ in a single year, whereas by a wiser use of time and money and effort he might have won two thousand, there is an important sense in which his labor did not pay, a sense in which the return was small and unsatisfying.

The annual additions to the churches are large in the aggregate, but compared with what they might be, and therefore ought to be, they are painfully and humiliatingly small. In

one of our large denominations it takes thirteen church-members a year to convert one sinner; in another it takes fifteen; in another seventeen. And these thirteen or fifteen or seventeen church-members have all professed to give themselves, body and soul, time and substance, to God and his service. What if fifteen politicians pledged themselves for a year to the service of a political favorite. The great object of these men every day in the year and every hour in the day is to win adherents to their candidate. To this end they have consecrated not only their time and energies, but their money also. After a twelve-month they meet to sum up results, and find that in one year they have together made *one* proselyte! What occasion for mutual congratulation? Supposing the candidate to be unexceptionable, we should say there was some radical defect either in his advocates or in their methods.

There are as great possibilities in spiritual as in natural husbandry. Christ used the one to illustrate the other, and talked of thirty and sixty and a hundred fold *in a single year*. In these great denominations the growth by conversions, which is the only growth of the kingdom, is *one thirteenth or fifteenth or seventeenth part of one fold*. Is this normal? Does it not mean that there is something radically wrong with Christ's servants or with their methods, or with both?

Let us confine ourselves to two points where radical changes are required:—

1. A lack of coöperation among churches and denominations.

One of the most marked tendencies of the times is toward organization, combination, and coöperation; illustrations of which are afforded in the consolidation of petty states and principalities into empires, the organization of immense standing armies, the growth of powerful corporations, the formation of new political parties, the rise of numerous trusts, the unprecedented growth of cities. A tendency so universal, and which finds such various expression in statecraft, in military science, in commerce, in popular reforms, in almost every branch of business and in the distribution of population, cannot be accidental. It is the result of definite causes, and will continue while they remain operative. Organization and coöperation

multiply power manyfold; hence this marked tendency toward them as soon as rapid transit and ease of communication, — steam and electricity, — made them possible. And as communication is facilitated, this tendency will continue. Such a mighty “tide in the affairs of men” must not be ignored by the church, if it would in the future, as in the past, give direction to the development of society.

Men who are seeking selfish ends organize for coöperation, knowing that thus the interests of each will be most efficiently served, while different churches which are supposed to be quite unselfish and which are laboring in a common cause are unorganized and know nothing of coöperation.

The consummate organization of the Roman Catholic Church adapts it to the times, and it is increasing its political influence, growing rapidly in numbers, wealth, and power, and using its vast resources to the best advantage. If every minister and every church in the United States were Roman Catholic, does any one suppose there would be such a distribution of forces as now exists — three or four feeble churches in a little village of four or five hundred inhabitants, and in large city populations only one church, and perhaps none, for twenty, forty, and even fifty thousand souls?

A few years ago in a Colorado town, containing about five hundred people, there were three Presbyterian churches, a Northern Presbyterian, a Reformed Presbyterian, and a United Presbyterian church, each struggling for existence, each a rival of the others, and all aided by Home Missionary Societies, while many a frontier town was at the same time as churchless and as godless as a heathen village in Central Africa? Is there not need of mutual understanding and intelligent coöperation among denominations in order to prevent a worse than useless waste of means and men? Without such coöperation it is impossible to work the whole field adequately providing for the needs of each community, and avoid overlapping, friction, jealousy, and waste. Without such coöperation it is impossible to utilize the mighty latent power of the churches and develop the strength necessary to meet the perils which threaten our Christian civilization.

At such coöperation among local churches and denominations the Evangelical Alliance aims. The methods by which local churches can successfully coöperate are outlined in *OUR DAY* for April; the methods by which it is hoped the various evangelical denominations will be able to come to a mutual and helpful understanding will be given to the public in due time, as soon as State Alliances are formed.

2. Another radical change is needed touching lay activity and the personal contact of Christians with non-church-goers.

The original idea of the Christian life, Christ's idea, seems to have been lost by the great majority of the church membership. Religion is made an adjunct. Life is divided into the religious and the secular. "Religious" duties are confined chiefly to one day in the week, while "secular" duties monopolize the greater part of six. The work of the ministry is "sacred," but ordinary avocations are "secular." Are we then to understand that Christ's life was secular for thirty years and sacred for three only, worldly while a carpenter and holy only after he had entered on his public ministry? It was in his boyhood that he said, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" And about that business he continued through life, whatever his occupation.

"Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." And if this was Christ's business, it certainly must be the business of the church which he organized and called his body — the business, not of one member of the church, but of all; not the business of the minister simply, but of the laity as well. *All* the members of the body are the instruments of the head; intended to execute its purposes.

Many are under the impression that they hire the minister to love and win souls in their stead. Personal effort to win men to Christ is not commonly considered a necessary part of Christian living. If a man attends the services of his church faithfully, and appropriately participates in the same, gives generously to current expenses and benevolences, and leads a moral life, he is supposed to discharge his Christian obligations with all faithfulness, and indeed is quite a model though he never engages in any personal Christian activity. How many thou-

sands there are in our churches, who, years ago, professed to give themselves — time, powers and property — to Christ's service, who have never even invited a soul to him? This is the reason it takes thirteen, fifteen, or even seventeen church-members a year to convert one sinner. Laymen are very commonly under the impression that all personal Christian effort can be commuted for a money consideration.

The Roman shortened his sword and lengthened the bounds of his empire. It is close hand to hand conflict that is effective. In our spiritual warfare we draw a very long bow. Most of our forces never come to close quarters with "our friends, the enemy." We need to handle the short sword. We exert our influence through institutions. Societies become our representatives, and our benefactions flow through established channels to remote and impersonal objects. We do well to rejoice in such far reaching mediums of influence, but we do ill to be satisfied with them. Every man ought to be a winner of souls. He who has accepted the invitation ought to extend it. "Let him that heareth say, Come."

If the laity were thus aroused to activity, it would no longer be supposed that the duty of the church to the public is discharged by unlocking the door and posting "Strangers welcome" in a conspicuous place. Mindful of the example of Him who came to "*seek and to save*," the church would go out into the highways and compel men to come in. To-day the habit of the church is one of waiting for the world to come to it. The Master said, "*Go and disciple*." The church says, "Come and be disciplined."

The army of traveling salesmen attests the value of aggressive personal work. A few years ago the great wholesale houses waited for the retail men to find them, just as the churches are waiting, though less eagerly I fear, for non-churchgoers to come to them. But a few men, sent out to solicit orders, so quickly and manifestly demonstrated the superior effectiveness of *going* to "disciple" men, that the methods of business were speedily revolutionized.

This change of method was the natural outgrowth of our headlong mode of life. The more preoccupied men become,

the more difficult is it to divert thought from their eager pursuits and gain attention to anything else; hence the great increase of personal solicitation in nearly all kinds of business.

Personal effort has always been the most effective form of Christian work, but it is more important in this age of intense living than ever before; and it is almost the only way of reaching the millions who never come within reach of the pulpit.

The methods of work suggested by the Evangelical Alliance, which are meeting with such universal approval and being adopted in most of our large cities and many smaller ones, bring a large portion of the membership of the churches into personal contact with non-church-goers by means of house to house visitation. The visitors, to each of whom are assigned ten families, cordially invite each non-church-goer to the church of his preference and the children to Sabbath-school. The pastor, for whom, or for whose church a preference has been expressed, is notified of the fact and calls on the family. This thorough visitation of the city is made not once or twice, but monthly. Mr. Lowell says, "a country worth saving is worth saving all the time." The city needs saving all the time. Society is constantly precipitating a sediment, which needs constant attention to prevent its accumulation.

As several months are required to acquaint the churches with the methods and to organize the work, but few cities have as yet completed a canvass. Buffalo reports that the first month's brought 387 non-church-going families to the churches. Oswego, a town of 26,000 inhabitants, where the work has been longer in operation, reports that the nineteenth monthly visitation brought thirty-eight families to the churches. The Secretary of the Baltimore Alliance, where the movement was inaugurated last fall, sums up results as follows:

"1. The people receive the visits kindly.

"2. The visitors are convinced that they are themselves benefited and are doing good.

"3. We have located the quarters, to a good degree, where non-church-going prevails and where there is lack of church facilities.

"4. Many children have been gathered into Sabbath-schools,

and families rich and poor have been led already to identify themselves with churches.

"5. Strangers in the city have been discovered and are being looked after. Many worthy poor, some of whom their churches have lost sight of, have been helped.

"6. Pastors report that many persons who would otherwise, in all human probability, have remained unknown to them and their church, have been reported."

When the churches of a community demonstrate that they are more anxious to save men than to save themselves, their efforts to win non-church-goers, being obviously unselfish, are more likely to be successful.

One great reason why there are so many non-church-goers is that the world doubts the sincerity of the church. "If you really believed the doctrines you profess, if you really believed us outsiders to be lost, if you really loved your fellowmen, if you had really given yourself to Christ, to carry forward the work which He began, you would not pass us by year after year and leave us to destruction without a word of warning."

I think it was David Garrick who said: "We actors present fiction as if it were truth, while you preachers present truth as if it were fiction." Such acting has far more power than such preaching. A preacher of Mormon mummeries who is in dead earnest will win more converts than a preacher of the pure gospel who leaves men in doubt of his sincerity.

When the church manifests a reasonable anxiety for those who according to her teaching are lost, by seeking out every neglecter of God's house and by systematically and perseveringly carrying the gospel to every house, from the highest to the humblest, then the world will believe in the sincerity of the church. When works thus chime with words, the truth will be clothed with a new power.

JOSIAH STRONG.

Bible House, New York, May 25, 1888.

THE STUDY OF CHRIST.

ADDRESS BY GEORGE W. CABLE, ESQ., BEFORE THE TREMONT TEMPLE
BIBLE CLASS, BOSTON, MAY 26, 1888. — REPORTED FOR OUR DAY, AND
REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.

FOR eleven months we have studied the Bible together. When from time to time I have asked the class what we were studying in the Bible, the answer has been, rightly enough, "Matthew." And yet, when your committee requested me to give, at this final meeting for the season, an address on any subject I might choose, and I instantly thought of taking Matthew in review, the first thought to follow this was that Matthew is mentioned but twice in the whole Book of Matthew, and that the study of Matthew is not the study of Matthew at all.

Twice only Matthew mentions himself: once when he tells of his call to the ministry, and once when he is simply enumerated among the disciples. The intention of his book is not to present Matthew to us. When we come to look at the book more closely, we find that he is not treating us to a memoir of his times, nor to a description of the manners and customs of a people. Neither — although we may believe that he is the writer of the book — have we Matthew's speculations on one subject or another. Nor have we here either a history or a biography. It tells of certain men being trained to a certain purpose, but it is not principally about them. It is a book about the one whose name first appears in it, — "The book of the generations of Jesus Christ, the son of Abraham, the son of David;" and although in the strict literary intention this title applies only to the first chapter, it applies also in a far higher sense to the whole book.

In our study of this first Gospel we found that the book is, likely enough, not all of it Matthew's book, but that it contains matter which each of the other evangelists used, without a word as to original authorship, and we found that there are words in which they all accord more than in any other parts of their texts, the words of Jesus himself. We found, too, that the object of the writer was not to present the order of events, but that he had some higher purpose in view; that sometimes matters were put out of their order of time in order that they might serve a more useful purpose. Again, we found the confession that the book is incomplete, and that there are certain things about Jesus which it does not pretend to treat exhaustively. You remember these words in the closing chapter of John's account: "There are many other things which Jesus did," etc. Likewise are we to understand of Matthew's book that it is not an attempt to give us all that Jesus said or did. Mark calls his parallel account simply "the

book of the *gospel* of Jesus Christ." Not all his life nor all his sayings, but the matter of all He said and did. John (xx. 31) says, "But these are written in order that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." Not that ye might believe in a Christ, but that Jesus is the Christ. Is that all? No; for that might be an appeal simply to the mind, the intellect, and there stop. "But that believing, ye might have life in his name." Here, then, is the object of the gospel, that we might believe that Jesus is *the* Christ; not that we may charge our minds to repletion with doctrines about salvation, but rather that those to whom it is a matter of eternal life or death shall know whether this individual, this historical person, this Jesus, was the Christ, and is the only true and perfect son of God, and so believe Him to be such that they shall have life in his name.

We find, then, that the study of the Book of Matthew is the study of Christ, and that in so far as it falls short of this in our hands it misses the object for which it was given.

It is the study of Jesus, but the study of Jesus as Christ, *the* Christ; not *an* anointed, but *the* anointed and appointed Saviour of mankind, and therefore not only the one for whom the book of Matthew or the accounts of the other evangelists were written, but the one for whom all the Bible was written; all that was earlier than this pointing straight to Him, and all that followed pointing back to Him, as the great focal point of the revelation of God to mankind in the whole Bible. For then He is *the* Christ, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. As students of Christ it is our business and duty to make Him always the beginning and end of our study, the beginning and end of the Bible. Here, then, too, in Matthew, is where we begin to teach children. Many a one can say with me, the first words his mother ever taught him to memorize were, "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came ~~wise men from the east~~ to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" God's blessing on the mothers' wisdom, better than all theology, better far than all theosophy.

Thus we should study the Word; for this, the Word, was written; nay, this is the very Word of God. "In the beginning was the Word," and "these things are written that we may know that *Jesus is the Christ*, and that, believing, we may have life in his name." So when you, as superintendents or visitors of the Sabbath-school, walk up and down the aisles listening to what this or that teacher is saying to the children, be sure that they are going somewhere short of the mark, that they are falling somewhere wide of the centre, if they are treating any part of the Bible as principally a history, biography, or story of the times, as speculations of him who wrote, as an account of manners and customs, or as anything save as rays of light bent upon the one focal centre, — Jesus the Christ, the Son of God.

I may be asked how, when we are teaching in the Proverbs, Ephesians, or Kings, we shall make Christ ever the centre of our sight, the great sub-

ject of our thought. Well, if we fail in every other way, we need not fail to show these writings as component parts of the design to prove to us that Jesus is Christ, written for this, to this end ; that whatever they offer us of education and equipment for mind or heart is but preparatory to our knowledge and understanding that Jesus is the Christ. We can study as students of Christ, only seeming to digress for a moment from this focal point of thought and affection.

Moreover, in this Book of Matthew, Matthew is not simply a teacher, or our teacher ; the teacher is Jesus himself. And Matthew tells not all Jesus did, but all He was. Nevertheless, it is our business as students to remember that the book, written with one main purpose, has other purposes subordinate to it, and that as students of Christ in the Book of Matthew, we should be students of the whole book. Let us thank God that the wisdom of to-day has brought us away from the erroneous method of choosing out passages selected for the unfolding of special doctrines, or their illustration or illumination, and that at last we are, as teachers, to take the books according to their intention, and study each and every one closely and carefully as students, first of the main intention common to them all, and then of the special scheme on which each book is projected in reference to that common intention.

Now, our first glance at Matthew's scheme reveals his purpose to show that Jesus fulfills prophecy. But soon we see the Lord himself taking such high grounds in his teachings as reported by Matthew, that the fulfillment of prophecy becomes merely his credentials to those to whose minds such credentials are necessary and potent. Soon this part of the design largely gives way to the Lord himself, with Matthew's statement that He began to teach and to preach among the people. Thereafter we have Matthew intervening only in the slightest way.

"Jesus began to teach and to preach." And what does He teach ? Presently we begin to find that He teaches the theory, the method, and the practice of the life that is acceptable to God, a fuller revelation of what God is willing to accept from man in order to receive him into his affections and grace. "I am the way, the truth, and the life." The truth, that is, the theory or science of life ; the way, that is, the manner or art of life ; and the life, that is, the first and only perfect practical demonstration of life according to that science and art. So then, once more He is to us not merely a teacher, but *the* teacher ; not merely the teacher of a method, but of *the* method ; the only way, the only full revelation of the truth, and the only perfect life.

Matthew shows no Grecian symmetry in his literary method, but he shows that which is of equal and lasting interest : a natural equilibrium, the difference between architecture and nature, the difference between a temple and the tree of the forest. It is therefore necessary for us, according to the needs of our occidental minds, to search out the form and scheme of his book, and we find him presenting Christ, or rather reporting Christ as presenting himself and his teachings first of all as a riddle. You remember

how, from time to time, during the season, I have made certain words familiar by reiteration, especially these : "From that time began Jesus to preach, saying, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Now, the kingdom of heaven was something the people thought they very plainly understood, and yet something which they utterly failed to apprehend, and which He kept in the form of a riddle, that He might adapt it gradually to their comprehension. It was a thing so different from their anticipations, that He was compelled, under the necessities of their case, not by limitations of his own, to give it little by little, line upon line, precept upon precept. So He began to teach, or Matthew, we remember, so reports Him, first of all by discourse in that wonderful sermon on the mount. Then He confirmed it by his miracles, then He descended to reason with his critics, and then He spoke in parables. This, at least, is Matthew's scheme in presenting Christ to us as teaching first by discourse, then by miracle, then by parable, and then by parabolical miracles, and also by one other method which we did not hit out in our weekly lessons, yet the best method of all, — the setting of those to teach whom he wished should learn. Setting them to teach what they had learned, which is the most fruitful teaching one can give himself.

Jesus' riddle was not a mystery to his hearers merely in that astonishing sermon which was the Constitution of the kingdom of heaven. A kingdom required a king, and to their eyes no king appeared. The sermon on the mount and its kindred teachings was not merely the Constitution of that kingdom, but the circumference of the great outer boundary of God's requirement of mankind ; unspeakably more than law, holding the law far inside of its circumference, and beginning with the word "blessed," to teach that although it is the outer boundary of God's demand upon men, it is not a task, but a blessing to us and from us, operating in the double capacity of a blessing received by us, and a blessing upon those to whom we communicate its teachings, — the greatest gift God can bestow. If I might take the opportunity of conversing with my class, according to our usual method, What is the last word of that sermon ?

(Answer by the audience.) "And they were astonished at his doctrine, for He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

In this great word Jesus is presented not merely as the expounder of a constitution or the announcer of a kingdom, but as himself the king of that kingdom, having authority beyond all authority of the scribes. Not a superior authority of dogmatic dictation, but the authority of original truth, the authority of one who did not get his inspiration from living men or writings, the authority of one from whom the truth came as from its own fountain, and not from earthen vessels filled from fountains poisoned with error. If ever there have been any in the class disposed to criticise the excessive use of the word "teacher" as applied to Christ, let them remember that He has always been held up as Matthew presents Him, as using his authority first of all by the assertion, not of power of office, but of truth, and presenting his authority simply as a part of that truth which it is

necessary to learn, and demonstrating his authority by a presentation of the truth that amazed his hearers, and will amaze the world to the end of time. Demonstrating his authority also as the authority of holiness and of mercy, for in these things also authority has the right to dwell. Jesus works miracles in demonstration of his mercy and his authority as the supreme fountain of mercy.

We find in these miracles great truths necessary to learn, and that so far from these miracles being simply wonders to attract and hold the attention of his hearers, they are used to demonstrate the central principle of the kingdom of heaven as contrasted with that outer circumference of which we have just spoken. What is it? It is the one small requirement which God lays on his children, and around which all his desires for them, and all the desires he should have from them, circle. For in his revelation of truth through his miracles, Christ shows the *least* God requires of man in order to the beginning of his salvation. In two places in the Old Testament, and in only two, a word occurs, which suddenly becomes frequent when the history of Christ's miracles begins, and so continues to the end of Scripture. Even when, in these two cases, it appears in the Old Testament, it seems to be with a narrower meaning than in the New. In the song of Moses (Deuteronomy xxxii. 20), where the children of Israel are spoken of as "without faith," and in Habakkuk ii. 4, where we are told that "the just shall live by faith," the meaning seems to be simply faithfulness. It is Jesus who, for the first time, gives us the great, central, germinal word of the gospel, when He says, as in the case of the centurion, "I have not found so great faith," meaning faith in God's faithfulness. It is thus He comes to us with the least requirement that God lays upon his children for their salvation: they must believe that God is good, and will be good to them; that He is merciful, and will be merciful to them; and, acting upon this belief, no soul can be lost.

You remember how we searched out the meaning of the order in which those miracles follow one another, and found the ever lessening lines of limitation for entrance into Christ's kingdom. How first He set forth one phase of "great faith," next rebuked others for, and yet rewarded, their "little faith," then faith mixed with superstition, faith mixed with disobedience, and so on, until we come down to the case in which the great Healer gives us the precious formula, "*According to your faith be it unto you.*" The presence, not the quantity, of faith being enough to save; yet the soul saved in *degree* and enlarged according to the measure of its faith.

We have studied Matthew from beginning to end, and so doing have found in his presentation of Christ all of system that we need desire. We find Jesus set forth to our minds, declaring in turn his authority to convey God's forgiveness of sins to mankind, his office as a spiritual physician, his discretionary power over ordinances, and his declaration of compassion, as the motive of the kingdom of heaven, the ruling principle on which it comes from God to man. In due time we find Him sending forth his disciples to their apprenticeship announcing this invisible kingdom as at hand,

earth, though they need in that great second truth of personal religion, that, the very people needs to be no sooner got than given forth again; that authority, to disengage itself; that, though the individual is the first consideration, outward form and must concern itself first for its own salvation; yet one's church and hierarchy, to live and grow, must be given away to those who own kingdom. When it communicates it, or else, as idle capital, it will rust and be lost, knowing that God's material treasure. We must confess Christ triumph over his enemies now, and then teach; this is the business of all showed the way, the method, while we are to be Christians, with faith in God, day and year by year, until it comes, corresponding benevolence to all his parent's arms are now open, and He has put this teaching into practice. all ye that labor and are heavy laden. John in prison, asking the solution through effort and inability to keep the kingdom and where is the king? the broken and contrite heart is all that this is all, the whole of the heavenly Father's arms, since blessed is he who shall not be offended in perishing from the earth.

not as an exception comes for the first time the definite declaration that the and the of heaven, the domination of God in the hearts of men in perfect-like, shall be, and from the very nature of the kingdom itself must be, absolutely without compulsion. The kingdom of heaven had suffered by violence, and the violent had taken it by force, through all the prophets down to John; but he that is least in that kingdom as Christ had come to establish it is greater than the greatest of the prophets. Time will not allow us to follow in detail every paragraph of Matthew's Gospel, and yet to those who in their own study will do so, it will easily appear that every line has been put into the place it occupies with due reference to the writer's systematic design, and that there is nothing to justify a desultory treatment of his pages.

I pass to the second stage of his revelation, wherein Christ turns from the declaration of his theory to that of his method. The transition was marked by his beginning, in the resumption of parables, to prefigure by them his church and her operations. But we can only stop to emphasize the fact that Christ from the first presents his church to us as existing *not mainly for the purpose of worship*. I pause upon the audacious word, not claiming it as original, but confessing that it first struck me, as I suppose it strikes many, with a certain shock. For to many minds the church has always been this above all things, a house of praise and prayer, adoration and confession; yet it is not only or principally that. God's house is that; but the church is the people of God, and they are banded together as the church, *not* supremely for worship. Do we worship too much? We are far from worshiping enough, either in time or fervency. Yet the teaching of Christ is that the church is a body of activities, of work, of good deeds, of charities, imitators of Him. The five thousand fed reveals to us the church in embryo, the church in the office of breaking the bread to the multitude, the church reaching out to the multitude, — that is its business.

If the church were here principally for worship she might heaven at once. She is here for work. Nine tenths for instruction by the other tenth for worship, and the pattern of her work and joy for Him. "Son, found in the faithful study of Christ, — will be the reward church was designed in the order in which his teachings are given by Me because she did not work we see how early Christ began to warn his infant which has always been, and yet is, the besetting sin? Because charity begins God; that sin, largely unconscious, which she is in danger of being a self-the over-emphasis of worship at the expense is not charity at all. "Begin — of the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees in the strategy of our great King its communicative, increasing power. in all good strategy, is the enemy's danger of its working: the leaven of hypocrisy. He saw it was to be duty while the days of summer keep us of his own church, as it had been in place or at home, let us move upon the supplant. Mark the word, — not beware of place, but the place where sin is beware of hypocrites, but beware of hypocrisy. In his house; for Christ word to his infant church. To those disciples to whom He gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but not the keys of the church, — the keys of his awful responsibility, and not of an arbitrary power.

With that commission comes the propounding of the second riddle of Christ, the cross. The first riddle, the kingdom of heaven, has been revealed, so far at least that the disciples are able to lay hold of enough of its meaning to make the germ of all they need to know of it hereafter. It is the riddle of his theory; He follows it with the riddle of his method. The kingdom! We have some notion of its beauty and supreme importance; but how shall we bring it about, with men as they are? The answer is, By the cross, the principle of the cross, set forth in Christ's life, and introduced into every Christian life. The principle of the cross: a subordination of self, utter and entire; a subordination that shall not be merely the sacrifice of one part of self for the exaltation of another part of self; not the sacrifice of the flesh of self in order that the spirit of self may triumph, but the sacrifice of self, all and singular, given over from self-service to the service of truth and the service of mankind; ready for the endurance of all manner of evil, in the name of truth and righteousness, for truth and righteousness' sake, enduring the cross, — the cross, not crosses, but the life principle of the cross by which we sacrifice and dedicate everything to God. This principle, moreover, working not only in the individual life, but in the whole life and activity of the church itself organically. We come to Jesus' conflict with ecclesiastical authority; we find him confronting and confounding it; yet once and again fleeing from the Pharisees, and at all times saving his life when he could and might. How is it, then, that He came at last to walk into the very jaws of death? He came to it when the necessities of his kingdom required it, when it was necessary that He should carry his kingdom into the capital of the world's spiritual thought, and in the temple itself begin to set up that kingdom; setting his disciples to the work of establishing that kingdom on the face of the whole

earth, though. He knew full well that it would cost his life at the hands of the very people. He came to save. We see Him going there to declare his authority, to disestablish and to put on trial, to convict and sentence, that outward form and body of God's church, all that was left of the Hebrew church and hierarchy, that He might establish in its stead the church of his own kingdom. When men punished Him with murderous death, He received it, knowing that God had his reward in store, and that He would triumph over his enemies more and more through all time. In all this He showed the way, the method, which shall sanctify the hearts of men day by day and year by year, until it completes the conquest of sin. And so the parent's arms are now open, and He says to his children, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden," under sin; ye that are weary through effort and inability to keep the law; come to our arms. Because the broken and contrite heart is all that is necessary, come unto your heavenly Father's arms, since Christ has doomed your sin and it shall perish from the earth. These things Christ teaches us, not as a teacher, not as an example, not as a philosopher, but as *the* philosopher, *the* teacher, and *the* only safe example, whom, if we follow, we shall one day be like. In the few weeks that are still left to complete the second quarter of the year, we shall continue to be students of his, though not meeting in this place. We shall be students of his resurrection, and shall learn afresh that, as the cross is man's example and salvation, the resurrection is his hope and the blessed assurance that we shall in no wise lose our reward, all undeserved though it may be, Christ having opened the way. By the cross we know that sin shall perish from us and from our race, and by the empty sepulchre that we shall all be received into the embrace of God.

And now, friends and members of this dear class, as we are about to part, I want to give you this last thought for remembrance, while God watches between us as we are separated one from another. When Christ says his last word, "Go preach," He does not mean simply that you shall arithmetically comprise the whole world in your teaching, but that you shall not turn to the right nor the left, nor turn back nor tarry because of the attitude of those to whom you are sent. Do as Christ did: He went straight to the work of, and the proper place for, the foundation of his kingdom, choosing the right moment and attitude and activity, though He knew that it would cost Him the cross. So, whenever we know that preaching the cross faithfully, diligently, and in the time and place and way to gain the largest and earliest result, is going to cost us our life, then God give us strength to lay down that life for all mankind, as Christ laid down his life for them and us. Christ never gives us anything to do for Him which He has not already done for us; He has done nothing for us that He does not require us to stand ready to do for Him. It is not sufficient for us to declare ourselves worshipers of Christ in his house. The word is the aggressive word, "Go preach." It may be you can preach best by driving a dray, or selling goods, or by keeping books in a counting-room; but it may be by going to

foreign shores, and it must be whatever your conscience, instructed by the faithful study of Christ, teaches you is the best you can do for Him. "Son, go work," not worship, "in my vineyard." The Hebrew church was dis-established and divorced from her husband, not because she did not worship, but because she was not a working church.

"Go preach, beginning at Jerusalem." Why? Because charity begins at home? The charity that begins at home is in danger of being a self-centred charity, and a self-centred charity is not charity at all. "Beginning at Jerusalem." Why? Because in the strategy of our great King and Captain the objective point, as in all good strategy, is the enemy's stronghold.

And now, as we strive to do duty while the days of summer keep us apart, whether it be at the watering-place or at home, let us move upon the enemy's stronghold, not seeking the easy place, but the place where sin is greatest; and maybe, *maybe* it shall be found in God's house; for Christ sent not his disciples first to the heathen, but to the scribes and Pharisees at Jerusalem; and it is glorious to see Peter, who had so lately denied his Lord, so soon afterwards standing up in the very footprints of Christ, before the Council of the Sanhedrim, before Annas and Caiaphas, John and Alexander, and saying without fear, "Whom ye have crucified and slain, Him preach we unto you." And God be with us all, and make us more and more the students of his Word, simply that we may become more and more practical students of Jesus Christ.

IS AUSTRALIA TO BE CHINESE?

THERE is no question in politics upon which it is more difficult to think straight than this of Chinese immigration into Australia. Most of the theories are upon one side, and all the facts upon the other. The emigrating classes of China have discovered that Australia, which is of all continents the one most easy for them to reach, is an excellent place to which to emigrate. They like the climate; they find land cheap for their favorite occupation of market-gardening; there are mines of many sorts; and there is a quantity of work to be done in the cities for which the white immigrants are apt to charge extravagant rates. They know the British flag well in Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Calcutta, and approve not only the British courts, but the British habit of tolerating the "Hoeys," or dangerous secret societies with which China is honeycombed — the Triad Society, for example, is much the largest in the world — and which they carry with them wherever they go. They have begun, therefore, to swarm down to the southern continent in numbers which the prohibition to enter America will rapidly increase; with the marvelous industry bred in them by centuries of over-population, they all prosper there; and the rush is assuming such proportions that, but for the deficiency of women among the immigrants, the white settlers might in twenty years be lost among the multitudes of Chinese. As they are the best laborers in the world, working fifteen hours a day for seven days in the week, and obey all laws which are strictly enforced — keeping up, however, supplementary laws of their own, enforced by terrible penalties — it seems at first sight most unjust to restrict their immigration. We go to China at discretion; we claim to be exempt from all special taxes; we even use artillery to enforce our right of entry; and to deny to Chinamen the privileges we claim for ourselves seems violent injustice. There is no argument for it, it is said, except that we either dislike or dread the Chinese; and if we may urge either of these two pleas as in itself sufficient, then so may they, and Chinese exclusiveness receives at once an ample justification. The argument from color, it is alleged, is or ought to be as good against the white man as the yellow; and if we may tax Chinese washermen, so may Peking tax English telegraph clerks.

There is, so far as we know, no answer possible to the abstract reasoning of those who approve the immigration; but the Australians say, and say truly, that it involves consequences of the most terribly grave kind. If they have no right to prohibit Chinese immigration, then they have no right to discourage it; and to leave it undiscouraged is to hand over the great southern continent to Chinese. Their numbers are limitless, their industry knows no intermission, and, when their habit of coming and going has

reached a certain point, they will bring their women, and settle as they have done in Siam, Java, and Singapore. They will within a half century number millions, the Australian climate suiting them as well as their own, and the white men will be completely eaten out. They cannot compete with the Chinese in any but the highest kinds of labor; they will not work side by side with them in the field; and they cannot live on the wages which are to Chinamen, whose thriftiness has been developed by centuries of hereditary want, sufficient not only for existence, but also for accumulation. They must therefore retire, and the destiny of the great southern continent will be finally and lamentably changed. It might be a new Europe without poverty, but it will be a new Asia with a pagan creed, a pagan morality, and a stereotyped civilization. The Chinaman is as enduring as the European; he nowhere merges himself in another population, and nowhere surrenders his belief that he alone among mankind possesses a social scheme which is obviously Divine. The world can gain nothing by an addition of provinces to China, while Europe loses not only a vast possession in which her children might advance beyond European precedent, but a means of relief for the over-pressure on her resources which every century appears to make more severe. Rather than see all their hopes thus disappointed, the Australians, whose dream it is to be citizens of a great white federation, the mistress of the southern world, declare that they will encounter prematurely all the perils and annoyances of independence, and thus enable themselves to confine Australia absolutely to men of their own color and civilization. They add that the argument of justice, if seriously put forward, is not well founded, for China would not endure a similar immigration of Europeans for a moment. She lets a few score traders enter her ports because it is convenient, and even grants them a separate jurisdiction; but if there were any chance of an arrival of millions of European laborers to compete with Chinamen in ordinary industry, to shatter her ancient civilization, and to make it impossible that China should remain Chinese, she would fight to the death, and in all human probability would slaughter her visitors out. The equality of rights demanded is one of words only; for while the Chinamen enter Australia in thousands, and may enter it in millions, Englishmen can never in China be more than an insignificant handful. The climate alone is a barrier no treaty can repeal. Are we to sacrifice a continent for a theory unjustified by answering facts?

That last contention is a sound one, and we confess that we cannot, as advocates of progress, look with complacency on the possibility of Australia being filled with Mongolians; but, fortunately, there is no necessity for discussing such far-reaching questions. The Chinese government, as we understand, is indignant at the recent treatment of its subjects in the colonies, but is by no means anxious to encourage limitless emigration. As Sir John Pope Hennessy recently told us, it has vast provinces of its own requiring population, and it dislikes the neglect of all those semi-religious duties upon which the organization of Chinese society, and, indeed, of its political system, is ultimately based. At this moment the two Shans, which were

recently desolated by famine, require five million emigrants, and there is a steady demand from the West and Northwest, the Chinese plan of conquest being to urge upon conquered, or, as they describe them, "revindicated" provinces, like Kashgar, hundreds of thousands of cultivators. It is quite possible, therefore, if we will stop all ill-treatment of Chinamen in Australia, to make a treaty like the American one, — that is, establishing an honest reciprocity. Only English traders go to China, and only Chinese traders would be permitted to go to Australia. We do not believe that the Australians, once relieved of their fear of swarms of Mongolians, would hesitate for one moment to concede the *quid pro quo*, — that is, to guarantee the Chinese already arrived against ill-treatment or exceptional taxation. There is and can be no justification for either. There may be, we think there is, grave reason for a treaty limiting the outflow from China; but the Chinamen already present in Australia had a right to come, and are guests, entitled, so long as they obey the laws, to every non-political right of our own citizens. We would rather, for the general benefit of humanity, that Australia remained a white land, and understand perfectly the horror of Australians at the idea of its becoming an appanage of Mongolia; but assaulting Chinese immigrants or wrecking Chinese shops is outrageous oppression. If the yellow men are bad, as the colonists say, let them be tried and punished for badness, not lynched without pretext, simply for being yellow, or, as one writer pleads, for teaching Englishmen to smoke opium. How many people in this world have Englishmen taught to drink gin, or who binds Englishmen to accept such teaching from Chinese? The plea is absurd; but it is not absurd to say that it is better for mankind that Europe should grow than that China should. — *From the London Spectator, May 12.*

In the month of August, 1886, three high Chinese officials left Canton as an Imperial Commission to inquire into and report upon the condition of Chinese abroad. After thirteen months' absence, they returned in September last, having visited various Spanish, British, and Dutch colonies, and presented their report to Chang Chih-tung, Viceroy of Canton, who has addressed a memorial to the throne, containing the substance of the commissioners' observations, together with recommendations of his own. The commissioners have since started on a tour in Borneo, with a view to study the condition of their countrymen in Sarawak, the territory of the British North Borneo Company, and the Dutch possessions, but no report of the results of this journey has yet been made.

The report of the first and more important journey begins at Manila, the capital of the Philippines, which was the first place visited by the Commission. Here the Chinese community complained bitterly of the wrongs they received at the hands of the Spaniards, and earnestly begged for the appointment of consuls to protect them, volunteering to pay all the expenses of the consular establishments. There are about 50,000 Chinese there, carrying on a most thriving business, notwithstanding the wrongs inflicted

on them. They are murdered, their houses are set on fire and plundered, and the authorities sent to investigate the case evince flagrant partiality. Extortionate taxes are levied on them, and, groaning under the burden of their oppression, they were about to petition the Spanish government when the Commission happily arrived. From Manila the members recrossed the China Seas to Singapore, where they were received with every civility by the governor. Here the Chinese number about 150,000, and are the richest among the inhabitants. Four fifths of the landed property is theirs, and large numbers of Chinese laborers pass through the port every year. A registrar-general is appointed to look after these, but the Chinese consul has no joint supervision with him, and hence deceptions and irregularities by the labor companies prevail. In Malacca and Penang the Chinese also thrive in business; in Perak and Selangore the 100,000 Chinese, mostly tin miners, are well protected. Several of them are millionaires. In Rangoon there are about 30,000 Chinese, dealing mainly in rice and precious stones.

From Rangoon the commissioners passed to the Dutch colonies, and first to Deli, in Sumatra, the centre of a large area of tobacco plantations. To this place immigrants come mostly from Swatow, through Singapore, where they are carefully examined by English officials to ascertain whether they know where they are going, and whether they go voluntarily. They are mainly engaged in tobacco-growing and curing, and the thrifty do well; but gambling is encouraged by the head laborers, and those who lose are compelled to remain working year after year. The Dutch laws provide that no laborer shall be engaged for more than three years, and that he shall be at liberty to go home after this period, whether he is in debt or not, but the laborers are ignorant of this, and are ill-treated in consequence. But the Dutch authorities promised the Commission to have this rectified. In Batavia the Chinese are heavily taxed, and gambling prevails among them. In other Dutch possessions there are over 200,000 Chinese, who "are most outrageously treated by the Dutch authorities, and when the Commission visited them they all with one impulse poured forth their wrongs."

In Australia the commissioners visited a large number of places at or near the coast. "The island of Australia, which is a dependency of England, is one of the five great continents, of vast extent in area, and possessing the richest natural products. Minerals of all kinds are found there, and large numbers of Chinese emigrate thither to engage in mining and other occupations." A heavy tax, varying from £10 to £30 per head, is levied on Chinese landing there, the object being to prevent the immigration. Wherever the commissioners went they received the most hearty and enthusiastic reception from their countrymen, who prayed that measures for their protection might be speedily adopted. "The number of Chinese subjects at present trading or working in foreign lands does not fall short of several millions, and in some ports the emigration is increasing, and our merchants are thriving. The advancing prosperity of our people has attracted the attention of the various foreign governments, and their jealousy

has been aroused. The Dutch authorities have been endeavoring to expel the Chinese from their colonies, and collisions between the Chinese and natives are becoming of more frequent occurrence. If measures are not adopted to render the residence of our citizens abroad more secure and peaceful, they will all flock home, and what will become of this surplus population scattered along our sea coast? The question of affording efficient protection to our subjects abroad is, therefore, one that demands our immediate attention and solicitude. Wherever the commissioners visited they were received with courtesy by the officials of the various foreign governments. But more especially did the English officials manifest their friendship and good-will."

So much for what the commissioners saw. On this the viceroy makes various suggestions for the more efficient protection of Chinese emigrants, but practically they all resolve themselves into one — viz., the appointment of Chinese consuls abroad to look after the interests of their countrymen. Thus he wants to see consuls-general in Manila, in some one of the Dutch possessions in the Malay Archipelago, in Sydney, and in Singapore, with subordinate consuls and vice-consuls at various places in the Philippines, Java, Sumatra, Penang, Rangoon, Brisbane, Victoria, etc. Indeed, so important and urgent did he deem it to appoint a consul-general to Manila, that he got the consent of the government of Madrid for the purpose, but the Manila government objected, and the consent was withdrawn. In Singapore he would have the consul-general exercise a kind of coördinate power with the colonial registrar-general for the prevention of irregularities and deception on the laborers. The consuls would be supported out of the fees derived from the Chinese residents in the various places, and if there is a balance it could be reserved as a fund for the construction of war ships to be specially used for the protection of Chinese abroad. In addition a literary college should be established at Manila, with an adequate library, and a corps of professors selected by the consul-general to teach the Chinese youth there "the doctrines of our national sage, the ethics of China, the principles of the five relations, etc." If the fees are not sufficient to cover all expenses, the memorialist will raise the rest among the merchants, upon whom he will bestow official titles.

In view of the measures which Chang Chih-tung proposes to take for the protection of Chinese abroad, it may be well to explain that while foreign powers have the right to send consuls to China, the Chinese government did not secure for themselves in the treaties the corresponding power of sending consuls to foreign countries. The omission was due to simple carelessness, and perhaps to a belief on the part of the Chinese negotiators of the treaties of 1857 that China would never want to send officials abroad. — *From the London Times, May 7.*

Three Chinese officials have been sent out to inquire into the condition of their countrymen abroad and to ascertain what can be done for their protection where necessary and for the improvement of their general well-

being. The wish of the commissioners is that the path of emigration from China into the outer world should be made smooth and easy, and that those who have already followed it and have taken up their abode abroad should receive such treatment as may induce them to remain where they are and not to return to China to add to the existing pressure of a vast surplus population. Our Melbourne correspondent's letter — starting with the question, "What is to be done with the Chinese?" — strikes a different note, singularly out of harmony with the tone of the Chinese commissioner's report. The prevailing wish in the Australian colonies seems to be to get rid of the Chinese altogether, or, if this cannot be done, at least to place such difficulties in the way of their arrival for the future as may serve to keep down their numbers within the narrowest possible limits. For this end a capitation tax has been imposed on Chinese landing in Australia, and it is rigorously exacted, either from the emigrants themselves on their arrival in an Australian port, or, if they contrive to escape into the country without paying it, from the captain of the vessel which has brought them over. But, not content with this, the different colonies are now concerting measures to put a more effectual check on what they consider a growing nuisance. What means they propose to adopt our correspondent does not tell us, but it is clear from his letter that the colonies are in earnest, and that the old days are at an end when Chinese emigrants were looked on with favor anywhere as a welcome addition to the laboring population of the country. This they have now ceased to be. The colonies find themselves in a difficulty not unlike that of the old magician, who called up the devil and was unable afterwards to get rid of him. Australia has attractions for the Chinese beyond any which are offered them in their own country. They can earn higher wages; they have better opportunities of starting in business or of settling down upon the land. They are now rapidly becoming aware of the many attractions held out to them by this new *El Dorado* so easily within their reach. The result is that they have been pouring in of late in ever-increasing swarms; that they have spread about over well-nigh the whole country, and that in several townships they outnumber the white residents. This is a state of things with which the Australian colonies consider it necessary to deal promptly and effectively. The capitation tax has been an insufficient safeguard, and they are devising now some new and more stringent rule to save their country from its threatened transformation into a Chinese annex.

The Chinese commissioners bring back very different reports from the several countries which they have visited. In Manila the Chinese community complain bitterly of their wrongs, and beg for the appointment of a Chinese consul to protect them. In the Dutch possessions generally the Chinese are in like case. In the British colonies they seem to have nothing to complain of. The one thing which the commissioners note with disapproval is the clearly evinced wish of the Australians to prevent the arrival of more emigrants. In this matter the Dutch are in advance of the Australians, for they have been endeavoring to expel the Chinese, and there have

been frequent collisions in consequence between the natives and the new settlers. The curious thing is that everywhere alike, and whatever treatment they experience, the Chinese manage to thrive. That in Singapore they are among the richest of the inhabitants is no marvel, for in Singapore, and in the British possessions generally, they have fair play given them, and their industry and frugality gain their natural reward. But in Manila, where they are murdered, and plundered, and burnt out of house and home, and where they can get no protection from the courts, they are nevertheless well-to-do and contrive somehow to carry on a most thriving business in spite of the wrongs under which they groan. Like the Jews in the Middle Ages, and in some European countries now, they are recognized as the proper objects for public and private spoliation, but they thrive all the same under conditions which would be fatal not only to the prosperity but to the existence of a race less gifted with endurance and recuperative force. But there is one important difference between the position of the Chinese emigrants and that of the Jews of old. In the Middle Ages the Jew in Europe was persecuted everywhere. Turn where he would there was no refuge open for him, no escape from the ubiquitous national curse. The Chinese emigrant has an advantage in this respect. He has a country of his own, and he can return to it if his treatment abroad becomes absolutely intolerable. The fear of the commissioners is that he will be driven to this course. There are, they say, several millions of Chinese subjects trading or working in foreign lands, and if measures are not adopted to give them a security which they do not at present enjoy, the result will be that they will turn their steps homeward. What will become of them on their arrival, and what room they can hope to find not already fully occupied, the commissioners ask with alarm. They are only sure that the back flow must be stopped, and since this cannot be done unless the Chinese abroad have efficient protection afforded them, the supply of this is a matter of pressing urgency and it must be taken in hand at once.

This is the Chinese view of the emigrant question. We have shown already that it does not agree with the Australian view. The commissioners do not speak of any ill-treatment suffered by their countrymen in Australia, nor at the time of their visit did it appear likely that the Chinese settlers as a body would see any reason for leaving Australia for China. The one objection of the commissioners was to the capitation tax, which they regard very properly as intended to prevent an influx which they themselves desire to encourage. It is less likely now than ever that this obnoxious impost will be repealed. The prospect rather is that Australia will by and by be added to the list from which return cargoes of Chinese emigrants will be sent off. In Australia, as in California, the Chinese have been useful in their day. In both countries alike it is their increase which is held objectionable. With a free entrance granted them, there could be no assignable limit to the numbers which would pour over and take up their permanent abode. The United States have put a stop to the invasion. The Australian colonies are a disunited body, but in this matter they are getting ready

to act together, although they do not seem as yet to have got beyond the region of mutual recrimination for alleged inaction or improper action in the past. They must act together if they are to act with any effect. As long as one colony continues to keep its ports open, the tide will still flow and spread over the whole continent. We should be sorry that any course should be taken which would interrupt our present good relations with the Chinese government. We have trading interests, not increasing indeed of late years, but still far from inconsiderable. The Chinese think themselves aggrieved that they should be denied facilities of settlement which they are themselves forced to grant under the treaty obligations which we have imposed upon them. But in this matter there is no real reciprocity possible. No one, not even the most earnest assertor of the Chinese claim, could suppose for one moment that there is any danger of China being overrun with British emigrants. But that Australia will be overrun with Chinese emigrants is not only likely, but certain, if nothing is done to prevent it. It is convenient to China to get rid of her surplus population in this easy way by transferring it to another country. But the same result might be secured equally well in another way. The population of China is excessive, only because the material resources of the country have not been properly opened up. Its potential riches are as great as those of Australia or of any country in the world. The fault is that they are turned at present to such exceedingly small account. — *From the London Times, May 7.*

PRESIDENT ELIOT ON AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

FROM PHI BETA KAPPA ADDRESS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, JUNE 29,
1888.

It is said that democracy is fighting against the best-determined and most peremptory of biological laws ; namely, the law of heredity, with which law the social structure of monarchical and oligarchical states is in strict conformity. This criticism fails to recognize the distinction between artificial privileges transmissible without regard to inherited virtues or powers and inheritable virtues or powers transmissible without regard to hereditary privileges. Artificial privileges will be abolished by a democracy ; natural, inheritable virtues or powers are as surely transmissible under a democracy as under any other form of government. Families can be made just as enduring in a democratic as in an oligarchic state, if family permanence be desired and aimed at. The desire for the continuity of vigorous families, and for the reproduction of beauty, genius, and nobility of character, is universal. "From fairest creatures we desire increase" is the commonest of sentiments. The American multitude will not take the children of distinguished persons on trust, but is delighted when an able man has an able son or a lovely mother a lovelier daughter. That a democracy does not prescribe the breeding in-and-in which characterizes a strict aristocracy, so called, is physically not a disadvantage, but a great advantage for the freer society. The French nobility and the English House of Lords furnish good evidence that aristocracies do not succeed in perpetuating select types of intellect or of character.

In the future there will undoubtedly be seen a great increase in the number of permanent families in the United States — families in which honor, education, and property will be transmitted with reasonable certainty ; and a fair beginning has already been made. On the quinquennial catalogue of Harvard University there are about five hundred and sixty family stocks, which have been represented by graduates at intervals for at least one hundred years. On the Yale catalogue there are about four hundred and twenty such family stocks, and it is probable that all other American colleges which have existed one hundred years or more show similar facts in proportion to their age and to the number of their graduates. There is nothing in American institutions to prevent this natural process from extending and continuing. The college graduate who does not send his son to college is a curious exception. American colleges are, indeed, chiefly recruited from the sons of men who were not college-bred themselves ; for democratic society is mobile, and permits young men of ability to rise easily from the lower to the higher levels. But, on the other hand, nothing in the

constitution of society forces men down who have once risen, or prevents their children and grandchildren from staying on the higher level if they have the virtue in them.

The interest in family genealogies has much increased of late years, and hundreds of thousands of persons are already recorded in printed volumes which have been compiled and published by voluntary contributions or by the zeal of individuals. In the Harvard University Library are four hundred and fifteen American family genealogies, three quarters of which have been printed since 1860. Many of these families might better be called clans or tribes, so numerous is their membership. Thus, of the Northampton Lyman family there were living, when the family genealogy was published in 1872, more than four thousand persons. When some American Galton desires in the next century to study hereditary genius or character under a democracy, he will find ready to his hand an enormous mass of material. There are in the United States one hundred and forty-eight historical societies, most of them recently established, which give a large share of their attention to biography, genealogy, necrology, and kindred topics. Persons and families of local note, the settlement and development of new towns, and the rise of new industries are commemorated by these societies, which are accumulating and preserving materials for the philosophical historian who shall hereafter describe the social condition of a democracy which in a hundred years overran the habitable parts of a continent.

Two things are necessary to family permanence — education and bodily vigor, in every generation. To secure these two things, the holding and the transmission of moderate properties in families must be so well provided for by law and custom as to be possible for large numbers of families. For the objects in view great properties are not so desirable as moderate or even small properties, since the transmission of health and education with great properties is not so sure as with small properties. It is worth while to inquire, therefore, what has been accomplished under the reign of the American democracy in the way of making the holding and the transmission of small properties possible. In the first place, safe investments for moderate sums have been greatly multiplied and made accessible, as every trustee knows. Great trust-investment companies have been created expressly to hold money safely, and make it yield a sure though small income. The savings bank and the insurance company have been brought to every man's door, the latter insuring against almost every kind of disaster to which property and earning capacity are liable. Life insurance has been regulated and fostered, with the result of increasing materially the stability of households and the chances of transmitting education in families. Through these and other agencies it has been made more probable that widows and orphans will inherit property, and easier for them to hold property securely — a very important point in connection with the permanence of families, as may be strikingly illustrated by the single statement that eighteen per cent. of the students in Harvard College have no fathers living. Many new employments have been opened to women, who

have thus been enabled more easily to hold families together and educate their children. Finally, society has been saved in great measure from war and revolution, and from the fear of these calamities, and thus family property, as well as happiness, has been rendered more secure.

The holding and the transmission of property in families are, however, only means to two ends ; namely, education and health in successive generations. From the first, the American democracy recognized the fact that education was of supreme importance to it — the elementary education for all, the higher for all the naturally selected; but it awakened much later to the necessity of attention to the health of the people. European aristocracies have always secured themselves in a measure against physical degeneration by keeping a large proportion of their men in training as soldiers and sportsmen, and most of their women at ease in country seats. In our democratic society, which at first thought only of work and production, it is to be observed that public attention is directed more and more to the means of preserving and increasing health and vigor. Some of these means are country schools for city children, country or seaside houses for families, public parks and gardens, out-of-door sports ; systematic physical training in schools and colleges, vacations for business and professional men, and improvements in the dwellings and the diet of all classes. Democracy leaves marriages and social groups to be determined by natural affiliation or congeniality of tastes and pursuits, which is the effective principle in the association of cultivated persons under all forms of government. So far from having any quarrel with the law of hereditary transmission, it leaves the principle of heredity perfectly free to act ; but it does not add to the natural sanctions of that principle an unnecessary bounty of privileges conferred by law.

From this consideration of the supposed conflict between democracy and the law of heredity the transition is easy to my last topic ; namely, the effect of democratic institutions on the production of ladies and gentlemen. There can be no question that a general amelioration of manners is brought about in a democracy by public schools, democratic churches, public conveyances without distinction of class, universal suffrage, town-meetings, and all the multifarious associations in which democratic society delights ; but this general amelioration might exist, and yet the highest types of manners might fail. Do these fail ? On this important point American experience is already interesting, and I think conclusive. Forty years ago Emerson said it was a chief felicity of our country that it excelled in women. It excels more and more. Who has not seen in public and in private life American women unsurpassable in grace and graciousness, in serenity and dignity, in effluent gladness and abounding courtesy ? Now, the lady is the consummate fruit of human society at its best. In all the higher walks of American life there are men whose bearing and aspect at once distinguish them as gentlemen. They have personal force, magnanimity, moderation, and refinement; they are quick to see and to sympathize; they are pure, brave, and firm. These are also the qualities that command success ; and

herein lies the only natural connection between the possession of property and nobility of character. In a mobile or free society the excellent or noble man is likely to win ease and independence; but it does not follow that under any form of government the man of many possessions is necessarily excellent. On the evidence of my reading and my personal observation at home and abroad, I fully believe that there is a larger proportion of ladies and gentlemen in the United States than in any other country. This proposition is, I think, true with the highest definition of the term "lady" or "gentleman"; but it is also true, if ladies and gentlemen are only persons who are clean and well-dressed, who speak gently and eat with their forks. It is unnecessary, however, to claim any superiority for democracy in this respect; enough that the highest types of manners in men and women are produced abundantly on democratic soil.

It would appear then from American experience that neither generations of privileged ancestors nor large inherited possessions are necessary to the making of a lady or a gentleman. What is necessary? In the first place, natural gifts. The gentleman is *born* in a democracy no less than a monarchy. In other words, he is a person of fine bodily and spiritual qualities, mostly innate. Secondly, he must have through elementary education early access to books, and therefore to great thoughts and high examples. Thirdly, he must be early brought into contact with some refined and noble person — father, mother, teacher, pastor, employer, or friend. These are the only necessary conditions in peaceful times and in law-abiding communities like ours. Accordingly, such facts as the following are common in the United States: One of the numerous children of a small farmer manages to fit himself for college, works his way through college, becomes a lawyer, at forty is a much-trusted man in one of the chief cities of the Union, and is distinguished for the courtesy and dignity of his bearing and speech. The son of a country blacksmith is taught and helped to a small college by his minister; he himself becomes a minister, has a long fight with poverty and ill-health, but at forty-five holds as high a place as his profession affords, and every line in his face and every tone in his voice bespeak the gentleman. The sons and daughters of a successful shopkeeper take the highest places in the most cultivated society of their native place, and well deserve the preëminence accorded to them. The daughter of a man of very imperfect education, who began life with nothing and became a rich merchant, is singularly beautiful from youth to age, and possesses to the highest degree the charm of dignified and gracious manners. A young girl, not long out of school, the child of respectable but obscure parents, marries a public man, and in conspicuous station bears herself with a grace, discretion, and nobleness which she could not have exceeded had her blood been royal for seven generations. Striking cases of this kind will occur to every person in this assembly. They are every-day phenomena in American society. What conclusion do they establish? They prove that the social mobility of a democracy, which permits the excellent and well-endowed of either sex to rise and to seek out each other, and which gives every advantageous

variation or sport in a family stock free opportunity to develop, is immeasurably more beneficial to a nation than any selective in-breeding, founded on class distinctions, which has ever been devised. Since democracy has every advantage for producing in due season and proportion the best human types, it is reasonable to expect that science and literature, music and art, and all the finer graces of society, will develop and thrive in America as soon as the more urgent tasks of subduing a wilderness and organizing society upon an untried plan are fairly accomplished.

Such are some of the reasons drawn from experience for believing that our ship of state is stout and sound ; but she sails

The sea

Of storm-engendering liberty,

the happiness of the greatest number her destined haven. Her safety requires incessant watchfulness and readiness. Without trusty eyes on the lookout and a prompt hand at the wheel, the stoutest ship may be dismantled by a passing squall. It is only intelligence and discipline which carry the ship to its port.

COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CANADA.

SPEECH OF PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH, AT ROSELAND PARK, WOODSTOCK,
CONN., JULY 4.

IN England, display the American flag where you will and when you will, you will call forth friendly feelings, and friendly feelings alone. A monument has been raised to an American poet, and funeral services for heads of the American nation have been performed in Westminster Abbey, the historic fane of the race. Good-will comes not by homilies or exhortations; it comes of itself or not at all. In this case there is nothing to prevent it from coming of itself except some sinister influences, which are accidental in their nature and cannot last forever. This year England celebrates the three-hundredth anniversary of her defeat of the Spanish Armada. That, at all events, we did all together.

One of the consequences of the quarrel in the last century undoubtedly was the hostile severance of Canada from the rest of the English-speaking race upon this continent.

The consequences of this, again, are likely to be the total loss of the fruits of the victory which the English-speaking race won upon the Heights of Abraham, and the growth in the Province of Quebec of a French nationality which may spread far, as the people of your Northeastern States begin to see.

Since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty there has been a tariff wall between the United States and Canada; it might almost be said that there has been a tariff war. Attempts have been made from time to time to renew Reciprocity, but they have failed. It is difficult to frame a partial treaty with so many interests both commercial and political pulling different ways, and when framed such a treaty is liable to be upset, with all the industries founded on it, by the first gust of international ill-will. There is in our Canadian Tariff Act a standing offer to you of reciprocity in natural products, but you will not take it without reciprocity in manufactures. So we have running across this continent a line of commercial divisions wholly unnatural, irrational, and injurious to the people on both sides of it. In the Canadian northwest, for eight hundred miles, one portion of a population is separated from another with which it is in all respects wholly identical, by a merely political line; and there a settler cannot trade freely with his nearest neighbor; one end of a village, it may be, cannot trade with the other. The flow of capital and the progress of enterprise are arrested at the same time. Trade is struggling at all points to cross this barrier and to fulfill the be-

hests of nature. And now a movement has been set on foot on both sides of the line for the total removal of the tariff wall and the complete emancipation of the internal commerce of this continent. The aim of the movement is not a partial Reciprocity Treaty, but the abolition of the customs line, so that all the products of Canada shall be freely admitted into the United States and all American products, whether natural or manufactured, shall be freely admitted into Canada. It is proposed at the same time that there shall be complete reciprocity in the fisheries, in the coasting trade and in all commercial advantages, so that commercially the continent shall be one. The movement has taken the name of Commercial Union, for which some in Canada substitute Unrestricted Reciprocity. It involves assimilation of tariffs on the seaboard, because if the tariffs were different there would be smuggling through one country into the other.

On the American side the leaders of the movement are Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Hitt, two members of Congress, and Mr. Hitt's resolution in favor of Commercial Union has been adopted by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. On the Canadian side Commercial Union, or Unrestricted Reciprocity, has now been accepted as the chief plank in the platform of the Liberal Party, the leaders of which are Mr. Laurier and Sir Richard Cartwright. But the soul of the movement has been Mr. Wiman of New York, who, as a Canadian resident in the United States and holding a place in the front rank of American commerce, is a most fitting representative and organ of the joint interests of the two countries. Our farmers in Ontario have in their Farmer's Institutes, by an immense majority, declared in favor of the movement. Sir Richard Cartwright's resolution was voted down the other day in the Canadian Parliament by the majority at the command of the Tory government. But that majority had been elected before Commercial Union had been heard of, on totally different issues. The friends of Commercial Union in Canada feel not the slightest doubt as to the result if the broad issue could be fairly brought before our people; and brought before our people at the next general election, if not before, the broad issue will be. In truth, friends of the Separatist policy own that it would not be safe for them now to appeal to the country. They live in hope that the agitation will subside. It will subside only when geography subsidies, and when the economical map of this continent shall have been folded up forever.

The special organ of the movement in Canada is the Commercial Union Club of Toronto. The Club devotes itself to the commercial issue and to that alone, seeking to lay that question fairly before the people and obtain their verdict. It takes its stand entirely outside party politics. It takes its stand outside the general question between Free Trade and Protection. It does not meddle with Protection as a principle or interfere with the seaboard tariff. It declares only for internal Free Trade. It says let Protection as a general system be good or bad, this line of custom-houses drawn across the continent is plainly an evil. It is an evil just as plainly as a line of custom-houses drawn between Connecticut and Massachusetts or New York would

be an evil. We welcome Conservatives as well as Liberals, men who in principle are Protectionists as well as men who in principle are Free Traders, to the membership of our Club.

The map settles the question. Look at it or call it up before your minds. Here is a continent stretching from regions almost tropical to regions almost arctic, comprehending in itself almost every variety of production, traversed by great navigable rivers, and forming the fairest of all the material foundations laid by nature for civilization. By nature this continent is evidently destined to be economically one. One economically, the larger portion of its inhabitable and cultivable area is, to the immense benefit of all its inhabitants whose unparalleled wealth is plainly the fruit of their internal Free Trade. But from the pale of this economical unity are excluded the Northern sections of the continent, the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, old Canada, French and British, the newly opened regions of the Northwest and British Columbia, which together make up the Canadian Dominion. These territories have but little natural trade with each other, though desperate efforts are made to force an inter-provincial trade by means of a highly protective tariff. Their isolation by the tariff wall precludes the development of their natural resources and condemns them to a sort of commercial atrophy, while it deprives the rest of the continent of the wealth which they contain. They are severally in the position in which a State of the Union would be if it were cut off commercially from the other States; and you lose as you would lose by such a severance of four of your States from the rest. The northward march of your capital and enterprise is stopped, as Detroit will tell you, by the same artificial barrier. Is not this sheer defiance of nature and willful renunciation of the benefits which she offers to us all?

Canada is full of dormant wealth, which an extended market together with your capital and enterprise would call into life. She has iron in unlimited quantities and in all her provinces. In the native deposits of copper she ranks above any country in the known world. The northern shore of Lake Superior, now dead to commerce, would, if the American market were thrown open and American capital and enterprise were admitted, be as busy with mining industry as the southern shore. Canada has great beds of bituminous coal. She has abundance of nickel of which you, it seems, have only one small mine. She has other minerals, including gold and silver, in rich variety, forming an almost dazzling catalogue. She has phosphates. She has excellent stone and marble for buildings, stones for grindstones, and materials for glass. Her domain is an immense treasure-house which the key of Commercial Union is needed to unlock. But she has also in her forests vast stores of lumber, of which your need increases daily, and which, instead of being wasted, as some opponents of Commercial Union pretend it would be when the larger market was opened, would, on the contrary, be more carefully husbanded the more valuable it became. She has fish, as you know, which would find their way to American frying-pans if diplomatic difficulties were out of the way. She has, besides, special

kinds of farm produce of which you have need — barley, wheat of a particular sample, poultry, and eggs. She has cattle, for which her climate is very healthy. She has excellent horses, for which England is too distant a market, but which you take up on the spot. Sixty-one millions of foreign products you import, with all of which Canada could supply you. On the other hand, Canada would be glad to take of you those articles which the wealthier and more scientific country can best produce — first-class machinery, scientific, literary, and intellectual wares of all kinds, and all those goods which can be made best and cheapest on a large scale.

Whenever an opening is made in the tariff wall, trade at once rushes through. The egg trade is humble, perhaps, but not the less telling as an example. It rose when the duty was taken off from a nominal value to the value of nearly two millions. Even where there is no opening, trade, impelled by nature, overleaps the wall of an evil policy. Already out of our eighty-one millions of exports we sell to you over thirty-six millions. Already out of our one hundred and five millions of imports we buy of you forty-five millions. For our horses, our sheep, our hides, our barley, our hay, our potatoes, our coal, our gypsum, our salt, our stone and marble, you are our best and, for some of them, our only customers. That the trade would be doubled or trebled with equal advantage to both parties if the customs line were removed, is surely a fair inference from the facts. We need not discuss the vexed question whether the seller or the consumer pays the duty. What is certain is that a tariff wall is a bar to trade; it is a bar by reason of the vexation as well as by reason of the toll.

If you say the United States are rich and Canada is poor, the answer has been already given. Canada is poor, at least comparatively poor, as Mr. Wiman puts it, not by nature but by policy. She is poor as Pennsylvania would be poor if she were forbidden to export her coal, poor as the Cotton States would be poor if they had no market but themselves for their cotton. Give her the natural market for her minerals, for her lumber, her fish, her barley, her horses; she will then become rich, and swarm with people who will have the wherewithal to buy your goods. When the Union between England and Scotland was projected English opponents of the measure cried out that England was rich while Scotland was poor, and that the wealth of England would be eaten up by the hungry Scotch. The result, we know, was as it was sure to be — that both countries benefited commercially by the union. Scotland became rich herself and increased the wealth of England. Yet Scotland had no such natural resources as Canada has. She had an energetic, industrious, and thrifty population, which made the most of the advantage given it, and Canada has the same. You have thousands of Canadians among you, and they do well and are in good repute.

Look at the newly opened region of the Canadian Northwest. It has an almost boundless expanse of prodigiously fertile land. Its wheat is of the very best quality. Its climate is better in regard to freedom from blizzards than that of the States to the south of it. Fuel, which for a time seemed

wanting, has now been found. That region, if evil policy does not stand in the way, may be the home of tens of millions. But for many years to come the population must be a population of farmers. What a market for your manufacturers ! And your manufacturers seem to want an extended market.

Some of your journals say there is no use in talking about Commercial Union without political Annexation. Surely a narrow and not a very generous policy ! You are not to trade with your neighbors, though the trade may be mutually beneficial, unless they will give up their political independence ! You are not to accept the economical advantages of a united continent unless it can be all forcibly brought at once into the same political jurisdiction ! Is your present territory so small ? Has your Congress so little to do or is it so much more than equal to its present work that it should insist on immediately shouldering a new burden ? I am one of those who believe and frankly avow the belief that the day will come when all the members of the English-speaking race upon this continent will again be, as once they were, one people, and England as the common parent of them all will rejoice in their union. Annexed by commercial blockade, Canada would be almost as recalcitrant and disaffected as she would be if annexed by military force. You do not want a Poland or an Alsace-Lorraine. In some Canadian hearts, though not in many, the bitterness of the Revolutionary proscriptions which drove the Loyalists into exile, of the old wars, of the quarrel of 1837, and of the Fenian raids, still lingers. Give it a few years more to pass away, and in the mean time do not deny yourselves or us the benefits of Commercial Union.

Would Great Britain veto ? If the case were fairly set before her she would not. She has given her colonies fiscal self-government. She has permitted them to lay protective duties on her goods. The Colony of Victoria lays protective duties on British goods. Canada lays protective duties on British goods. The new Canadian iron duty is practically pointed against British production. The fiscal unity of the Empire having been once abandoned, each member of the Empire must do the best it can for itself under its own circumstances. The commercial circumstances of Canada are those of an integral part of this continent, economically bound up with the rest. A cry is raised about the disloyalty of discriminating against British goods. But it is answered that Canada discriminates, if not against specific British goods, against British trade in the aggregate already. No, Great Britain will not veto when she is properly instructed and has deliberated on the question. Her policy is not so sordid or so unwise as her traducers would have you believe. She has given the colonies self-government and she means them to be nations.

A great majority of Canadians, as I believe, hope that the presidential election will soon be followed by action on your side which, combined with action on our side, will give the whole continent the great benefits of Commercial Union. — *From The Independent, July 12.*

BOSTON HYMN.

LOVE UNSLEEPING.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE 201ST BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 19, 1888.

1. Alas, my absent Christ,
Alas, my soul enticed,
So far to wander from Thy keeping!
Stunned by this world's loud din,
Swept by this surge of sin!
Restore Thy keeping,
Thy Love unsleeping.
2. Oh, what to me the shout
Of victory or rout;
Earth's wine or gall my spirit steeping?
Tossed on these rolling waves,
Jesus, my spirit craves,
Once more Thy keeping,
Thy Love unsleeping.
3. Say: "Peace, thou soul, be still,
Since war but works My will.
Though with a flaming sword wide sweeping,
'T is Cherubim who press
Man back to Eden" — yes,
Within Thy keeping,
Thy Love unsleeping.
4. Jesus shall rule the world,
Wrong from its empire hurled,
Forever done earth's weary weeping.
Cease, soul, thy sad unrest,
Repose thee on His breast,
Within His keeping,
His Love unsleeping.

WILLIAM M. BAKER.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE VII

ROMAN CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

AN audience of the usual extraordinary size, and as remarkable for quality as for quantity, was present at the 201st Boston Monday lecture. People were standing at many of the doors of the balconies. The Rev. Dr. Gordon presided. The Rev. Dr. Thoburn of Calcutta offered prayer and also made a short address on the prospects of the followers of Keshub Chunder Sen as a religious sect in India. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster of Iowa was on the platform and answered questions as to the progress of prohibition and the reasons for the repeal of the internal revenue tax on intoxicating liquors. The prelude on Roman Catholic Parochial Schools was repeatedly indorsed by the audience in a most emphatic manner.

GROWTH OF CATHOLICISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The direct and indirect adherents of the Roman Catholic Church make up now at least one eighth of the population of the American republic. According to their own expectations they promise to number at no distant date a quarter and a majority. These expectations are not mine. Nevertheless, our most cautious statisticians think that there are in the United States between eight and ten millions who owe allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. It is certain that the Roman Catholics have increased far more rapidly than our population, in spite of the great losses incurred by the abrasions of Catholicism against free thought and Protestantism in this republic. If the average rate of increase for the last twenty-five years should be kept up for another twenty-five, Roman Catholicism will certainly have about twenty millions of people at the time when the republic as a whole has one hundred millions.

You will pardon me, therefore, if I venture to assume that the recent action of the Plenary Council of the Roman Catholic Church at Baltimore, dictating the opening of parochial schools

from sea to sea on this continent, in obedience to directions from the Pope of Rome, is an event of national importance, and this in political, as well as in religious and educational aspects.

I wish to speak this morning with courtesy, with moderation, but with a certain degree of boldness. There are four kinds of Roman Catholics in the United States: First, the foreign ecclesiastics, who have not yet learned American ideas and show very little tendency to accept American notions. Second, American ecclesiastics, of whom Father McGlynn is a good specimen, who lean far over toward what I call the wholesome doctrine that the Pope is not to be allowed to interfere in American politics, whatever he does with the religion of Roman Catholics. [Applause.] Third, recent Catholic immigrants, laymen, who are largely foreign in their tastes, thoroughly loyal to a foreign priesthood and its representatives on our shores, and far from being Americanized. Lastly, Catholic laymen of American descent, or who are, like Father McGlynn, more or less Americanized, at least in their political notions.

You will notice that I am not here to cast wholesale aspersions upon the Roman Catholic body. Some of the noblest friends of temperance are found among Roman Catholic ecclesiastics,—and some of the ignoblest. [Laughter.] Bishop Ireland represents one type of Roman Catholicism; the Plenary Council at Baltimore, the same type, on the subject of temperance. But the majority of the names on the signs over the whiskey shops of the republic represent another type. It is highly important to make a distinction between Catholics and Catholics. We must study the distinctions between Roman Catholicism and Jesuitism. It is against the latter that my crusade is this morning opened, or, rather, not opened but continued; for years ago on this same platform I began this protest just after a boy had been lashed yonder under the shadow of Bunker Hill until his back was raw, because he would not go to a parochial school. I have traveled somewhat since that day and have found no reason to change my opinion. If Roman Catholics are at all represented here, let me say that I have great reverence for the more enlightened laymen, and for many

of the ecclesiastics in the Roman Catholic Church. Talleyrand used to affirm that the best policy is to be perfectly honest and straightforward, if you are to converse with the people; and therefore, let me confess that my supreme purpose this morning is to sow dissension between enlightened and unenlightened Catholics, for the benefit of the former. [Laughter and applause.]

OPEN AND COVERT CATHOLIC AGGRESSION.

What are the chief objections to the present principles and practices of the Roman Catholic parochial schools?

1. It is a notorious historical truth, illustrated by the experience of Spain, Italy, Austria, Mexico, and South America, that Roman Catholic priests, when they have had their own way, never yet gave, in their parochial primary schools, instruction enough to fit a population for the duties and responsibilities of free government. When Victor Emmanuel took possession of Rome, only five per cent. of the population could read and write. Five centuries of history under monarchical, republican, and mixed institutions, show that it is unsafe to allow the Pope to obtain exclusive or predominant control of primary schools in a free nation.

2. Roman Catholic parochial schools are avowedly intended to destroy the American unsectarian public school system — the most indispensable of all the safeguards of our liberty under universal suffrage.

The friends of Roman Catholic parochial schools will make no objection to that proposition, for in every way they have shown hostility to our school system. Here I take up the first Catholic magazine on which I happened to put my hand as I went out the other day to see the latest signs of the times in the Roman Catholic World. The "Catholic World," in its March number, has an article on "Race Divisions and the School Question," proclaiming that the American common schools must be destroyed.

We say frankly, nay, the official organ of the whole Catholic Church among us, the Baltimore Council, says frankly, that the Massachusetts public schools are detrimental to the Christian religion and

inimical in the long run to the Christian commonwealth. . . . Is it a fact that purely Catholic schools are anti-American in tendency? Yes, if to be anti-public-school be anti-American. . . . Either the Catholic children will be trained in schools purely Catholic, owned and conducted by the church as a private corporation, or the state must change the public schools in such a manner as to permit Catholic parents to provide Catholic instruction in them, whether it be in school hours or out of school hours. There is no escape from this alternative. . . . The whole church, from Rome outwards, Pope, bishops, priests, and people, are going to have all Catholic children under Catholic influences, doctrinal and moral and personal, in their school life. (*Catholic World*, March, 1888, pp. 738-742.)

Language like that of this outspoken extract is now common in all our Catholic periodicals.

8. Roman Catholic authorities wholly deny to civil government the right to conduct the secular education of the people, and intend to apply to the United States, as soon as opportunity permits, the same educational principles which have kept the mass of the populations of Roman Catholic countries in a state of intellectual childhood. The Popes have often declared that the toleration of schools not under the control of the Catholic Church is a sin on the part of civil government.

4. The instruction given in parochial schools, as evidenced by the text-books in use in them, is always sectarian, generally mutilated and sometimes thoroughly misleading, and so is greatly inferior to that given in the public schools.

Now Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, I should be glad to occupy an hour in making citations from Catholic text-books that lie on this table, but I open simply the text-book on "Modern History" by Prof. Fredet of St. Mary's College in Baltimore, and I find, for instance, the massacre of St. Bartholomew covered with copious, mucilaginous, repulsive, but by no means adhesive whitewash. [Laughter and applause.]

"It is certain that religion," says this amazing book, "had nothing to do with the massacre. . . . The only share which bishops, priests, and monks took in it was to save as many as they could of the Protestants. . . . It is objected that Pope Gregory XIII. publicly returned thanks to God on that occasion; but . . . the Pope rejoiced for the preservation of the French monarch and his kingdom." (Pp. 524, 525.)

The history of the Inquisition is treated (p. 519) in a manner equally Jesuitical and misleading. I quote this volume because it is in such general use in Catholic schools that it has gone through thirty-four editions.

Bismarck said that the saddest thing he saw in France was a set of mutilated text-books used by order of the Jesuit fathers. James Anthony Froude tells you that lately, in the West Indies, he fell into conversation with a man of apparently high culture, a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, and as their discussion ranged over politics through a long course of history, he found that on nearly every point they differed as to matters of fact. Finally the ecclesiastic said, "You must have been educated on a different set of text-books from those which were employed in the schools where I was taught." "Very surely I have been," said Froude; and the outcome of the conversation was to open the eyes of this English historian to the fact that the most systematic mutilation of history goes on in the Roman Catholic schools on the American as well as on the European side of the Atlantic. This ecclesiastic was from the United States. Froude had not thought that such mutilation would be attempted under our institutions. He knew well enough it had been attempted decade after decade, generation after generation, in Europe; he found it was attempted here.

I might take up text-book after text-book, such, for instance, as this Catholic approved History of the United States, from which you would suppose that our civilization was chiefly founded by the bishops of the Roman Catholic colonies. There are sneers enough here at the Puritans. I hold that these text-books are not merely anti-American and anti-Protestant, these would not be absolutely inexcusable faults, but that they are grossly inaccurate. They teach things which are in the teeth of notorious fact. They are mutilated; they are misleading. This kind of rubbish is what is crammed down the throats of our brightest Roman Catholic youth. I object to such instruction on the ground of its quality, and of the dangerous results which may sooner than we think appear in politics, if such false inculcations continue to gain credence.

5. The Catholic Church denies to parents the right of private

judgment as to which schools they shall patronize, the public or the parochial, no matter how inferior the latter may be to the former. If parents refuse to send their children to accessible parochial schools and send them to the public schools, the parents may be denied the sacraments—such as the right of baptism, marriage, confession, and burial according to the Romish forms.

This means very much to the eight millions, who will soon be twenty millions, in our republic. Consider what it means to the women and the children, and generally to the young to have the priest uttering against them such fulminations as these. Consider what it means to have the Roman Catholic Church in the Southern States, where French pride is at its height, especially near New Orleans and in that city, consider what it is to have the great German Catholic Church of the West, and the French Canadian and Irish Catholic Church of New England and the East at large, perfectly united in these propositions from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. There is yet immense power in these thunderbolts. And if I were an infidel, if I had nothing at stake in this debate except American freedom of choosing where a child shall go to school, if I had only to defend the right of private judgment on the part of parents concerning the education of their children, I should trample on this monopoly as utterly contrary to American principles. [Prolonged applause.]

6. It has been shown by experience that no one religious denomination, not even the most wealthy and numerous, can pay, without danger of financial collapse, the expenses of the education of all its children up to the standard of the public school system.

What caused Archbishop Purcell to fail in Cincinnati? Largely the efforts to support parochial schools in which he was using Roman Catholic money. It cannot be shown that even the Methodists have financial power to educate their children up to the standard of the public school system, and do this thoroughly year in and year out. Consider how we save money by massing all the children in the same schools. Consider how expensive it would be to subdivide this work, and have every

denomination build its own school-houses and pay its own teachers. The denominational system of educating children cannot be carried out for lack, I will not say, of financial ability, but of financial self-sacrifice on the part of the various denominations, great as this self-sacrifice has often been, and undoubtedly would be in any great exigency. The Roman Catholic Church seems to understand very well that it must have help from the state, for during the last fifty years, since Archbishop Hughes began his battle, it has been laboring to get appropriations from our various commonwealths.

7. The superior class of minds among Catholics are making effort in Catholic countries, like France and Italy, to wrest the control of public education from the church.

Yonder in Portland there has occurred lately an event which would have excited much comment in Italy or in France or in Austria. Property has been given to a certain ecclesiastic who has the sole power to control it, and who has such authority that only his will determines the succession of the property. As it is religious property it is not taxed, and an enormous accumulation of funds is thus being gathered at that point, and various other points throughout the country under exclusively ecclesiastical control. You know how the government of New York city and of New York state has been fleeced for the last generation by frauds of this kind. We are apathetic. We are a Protestant country. We feel that we are strong. We think mischiefs that have become enormous on the other side of the sea cannot ever become perils here. New England is especially apathetic on this matter. She lives in serene peace. She dreams that she has a very nearly perfect civilization. Has she not been the brain of the country? Has she not been in some respects its religious heart? Is she not safe from the attack of foreign ecclesiasticism? I regard this apathy as poorly provided with reasons for its own existence. The time has come for the whole republic to open its eyes, if not to the peril of the growth of Catholicism, at least to the grave peril of the growth of Jesuitical influences in the parochial schools. [Applause.]

8. The Roman Catholic schools are usually under the control of Jesuits, whose private and public influence has for centuries

been so mischievous that they have been expelled again and again from many of the foremost nations, both Catholic and Protestant.

9. Roman Catholic parochial schools are intended to bring the whole Catholic population of the United States under the control of a few hundreds of ecclesiastics who are themselves virtually subjects of a foreign pontiff.

The "Catholic World" says: "We, of course, deny the competency of the state to educate, to say what shall or shall not be taught in the public schools," and "Before God, no man has a right to be of any religion but the Catholic." A paper entitled, "The Catholics of the Nineteenth Century," says: "The supremacy asserted for the church in matters of education implies the additional and cognate functions of the censorship of ideas, and the right to examine and approve, or disapprove, all books, publications, writings, and utterances intended for public instruction, enlightenment, or entertainment, and the supervision of places of amusement."

Now, if that is not frank speech, what is? I call such speech treasonable. [Loud and long continued applause.]

When I was ten years younger, I used to think there was a good deal of thin vapor in the threats of Jesuitism concerning the public schools. I am beginning to learn that with the enormous power of the Roman Catholic polity massed behind time-serving politicians, these fulminations have real lightning in them; not enough to ruin us, but enough to annoy us, enough to wound us very deeply. We cannot afford to be wounded severely. We need all our strength for the glorious work of building up American ideas in practical shape on this continent. I have no fear the country will be ruined by Romanism, but I fear it will be annoyed and weakened by Jesuitism, and that our great cities may for decades to come be kept in a barbaric state in their politics, and to a large extent in their educational systems, by Jesuitical influences. [Applause.]

10. These schools are intended to pave the way for a sectarian division of the school funds of the States and of the nation.

11. They are intended to prepare the way for the union of state and church in the United States, that is, for the supremacy of Roman Catholicism in civil and political, as well as in

religious affairs. A recent syllabus of a pope declares that it is a deadly error to deny that the Catholic religion should be the only religion of the state to the exclusion to all other modes of worship.

12. The Roman Catholic demand for exclusive control of the education of the people has already greatly increased the corruption of municipal politics in the United States, caused the illegal appropriation of millions of dollars to Catholic institutions, and led in several cases of public notoriety to the formation of exclusively Roman Catholic military organizations to support the pretensions of a treasonable Jesuitical faction in the Catholic hierarchy.

It was established on good evidence not many years ago in New York city that there were regiments there made up exclusively of Roman Catholics, purposely so. Francis Lieber had part in the discovery, and the Union League in New York deserves great credit for what it did at the time. And we hear charges, I do not know how much truth there is in them, that there are secret organizations now in existence all across the country that could easily be turned to the advantage of such military organizations in any great public exigency. Now, I am not an alarmist. I am not here to say I think there is any danger of military resistance on the part of Roman Catholics to Protestants. I do not believe there is. Nevertheless, I believe that there are a few Jesuitical fathers so fanatical as to induce politicians and heedless young men in military organizations to combine under exclusively Roman Catholic auspices, and that this is done for a purpose. I think it is done far more widely than the public generally supposes. I am by no means carried off my feet by newspaper clamor on this matter, for most of the newspapers do not dare to clamor, and the politicians are whist. [Laughter.] All the more reason is there, therefore, why the independent platform and the independent audience should speak out.

METHODS OF PROTECTING AMERICAN SCHOOLS.

Here, then, I pause for the present by asking, What are the remedies for Roman Catholic aggression on the American system of public schools?

1. We must adhere to the present constitution of Massachusetts, and refuse to divide the school fund among sectarian educational institutions. [Applause.]

2. We must execute the civil law against priests who attack the social reputation or the business of Romanists who do not submit to the priestly demand for a monopoly of the teaching of Romish children. [Applause.]

Judge Bacon in this State gave a decision which brought heavy damages upon a Catholic priest who told his parishioners to boycott a certain livery-stable keeper in Holyoke yonder who refused to send his children to the parochial school. We must make Judge Bacon's decision respected and respectable through the length and breadth of the land. [Applause.]

3. We must teach in the common schools, in an unsectarian way, the broad, undisputed principles of morals and religion as to which good men agree, and thus stop the mouths of those who say that the American common school may be justly called godless. No child, nevertheless, need attend any religious exercise to which his parents object.

Perhaps in this I differ from some here, but I hold this opinion with great seriousness. In order to stop the mouths of those who say that the American schools are godless, and in view of the necessity of a certain amount of moral education in the schools, and in view of the value, tested by experience of our best methods, of reading the Bible in the schools, we must in an unsectarian way teach the broad undisputed principles of morals and religion in which all good men agree, and do this in the elementary schools unflinchingly. [Applause.] With a rule excusing children from any religious exercise to which their parents object, the private right of conscience need not come into conflict with public rights. It is a legal principle that where the right of society and the right of the individual come into conflict, the former is deemed paramount. We need not insist on making religious exercises compulsory against the will of parents; but it is preposterous to suppose that because a Jew objects to our Sabbath laws therefore we must repeal the Sabbath laws for the whole nation. Shall we allow the fly to rule the coach-wheel on which he happens to sit? [Laughter.]

It is preposterous to make the individual conscience a tyrant over the public conscience. This is an old matter which has been discussed again and again, and the legal principle is that the right of the public overrides the individual. And yet that such exercises might not involve too much hardship, I would adopt this proviso excusing children on the wish of their parents, and there would not be a very general call for such excuses.

4. We must urge intelligent Catholic laymen to withdraw from the support of the educational positions of a foreign priesthood.

In the sixteenth century most of the Romanists in England were marshaled against the Armada. In the seventeenth, in spite of the Papal chair, they sat in the House of Lords under oath of allegiance.

5. We must labor for the reformation of the Roman hierarchy itself, as to its educational pretensions, by causing their overwhelming defeat on the bulwark of the American system of free, unsectarian public schools.

6. We are to experiment with great reluctance and caution in the line of European customs, recommended to us subtly now from many quarters, in the name of Belgium and Holland, such as to combine literary and moral and separate religious instruction in the same schools.

This is the Poughkeepsie plan, and has been adopted to some extent in three or four American cities. But what is the difference between our condition and that of Europe? We have no state church. The state with us does not pay teachers to instruct the people in Protestantism or Roman Catholicism. But the state has an interest in having morals taught, and the general principles of common unsectarian Christianity, which Webster called a part of the common law of the land. If you open your school-rooms to Roman Catholic priests to give sectarian instruction at certain hours of the day, pretty soon they will want more and more and more. It is a dangerous thing for you to do this in your great cities, under the control, as they now are, of the Roman Catholic power.

A letter has been sent to me from a friend of education who

says that the school committees are now so full of men who favor Roman Catholic notions that a great many Protestant children are likely to be taken out of our common schools, the public schools themselves are under such powerful indirect influences from the priesthood. You know that private schools are starting up among Protestants everywhere; they are far more numerous than in previous decades. Those who can send their children to private schools in their most tender years are very largely doing so. When the rich have taken their children out of our common schools, what will be the condition of the children of the poor in those schools? In your large cities they will be under the control of Roman Catholic committees seven times out of ten. Many of the shrewdest Roman Catholics do not favor parochial schools, for they say, "We can have something better. Wait a little and in fifty of the largest cities of the land we can have the public schools. We can have by political trading a large amount of money from the public purse. The children of the wealthy Protestants will be withdrawn to private schools which their parents are abundantly able to maintain, and we shall have almost unchecked control in a little while of the public schools of the chief cities." And they have that control to-day very largely. The "New York Observer" said lately that in New York city and its vicinity there are 10,000 children educated in Catholic sectarian principles, on the basis of the public funds, contrary to law.

7. We are to insist on a system of state inspection of parochial and all other private schools, so as to keep their standards up to the level of those of the public schools. [Applause.]

8. As the Jesuits were expelled by Switzerland in 1847, by Spain in 1868, by the German Empire in 1872, and by France in 1880, so it may ultimately become a political necessity to expel the Jesuits from the American Republic. [Prolonged applause.]

LECTURE VII.

SUPERNATURAL LAW IN THE NATURAL WORLD.

MIRACLES IN NATURE AND REVELATION.

EVERY great new dispensation begins with miracles.

Every great new dispensation is predicted by its predecessor.

The succession of new dispensations, therefore, each fulfilling the prediction of its predecessor, indicates a Divine Plan which presides over and inspires from the first the whole course of history.

My contention is that these three propositions are true, both of the development of nature and of that of the Christian Scriptures. If this position can be established, these commanding laws will throw a flood of light on both the fact and the method of Inspiration. They will also be a sufficient answer to those incautious critics who object to any theory of Inspiration that necessitates a distinct and vital belief in the Supernatural.

Prof. Huxley has said lately that men of science are superior to theologians in the high virtue of intellectual veracity. But men of science rarely notice that facts almost everywhere admitted in the world of physical research show that each great new dispensation in geological history has begun with miracles. For instance, the lifting of matter from the plane of its inertness to the level of life, the introduction of living things, no merely physical science can explain. Charles Darwin said the first living germs must have come directly from the hands of the Creator. He was no materialist. But whoever firmly grasps the three laws of science I have just named will not be surprised at the supernatural in inspiration and Christianity. Read the last paragraphs of his book on "The Origin of Species," and you will find that Charles Darwin believed that the supernatural has occurred at least once in the history

of the universe, namely, when the lifeless was lifted to the level of living matter. Spontaneous generation is a doctrine which nowhere stands in good repute among men of good repute. According to Asa Gray, who is generally admitted to have held a more balanced doctrine concerning evolution than Darwin himself taught, the lines of evolution have been beneficently led by some power outside of nature. The developments of the physical universe, and especially of living creatures, have been guided along beneficent lines. Supernatural activity is implied in such a guidance. Mr. Wallace, one of the founders of the doctrine of evolution, insists upon it, that although we might explain a man's body by the doctrine of evolution along lines of animal formations, we cannot thus explain his soul. But man's soul is actually in existence and must have had an adequate cause.

1. It is a scientific law that at the appearance of every new level of life on this globe there has been a touch of the supernatural lifting previous levels to greater altitudes.

Merely physical science does not explain the origination of these new levels, occurring one after the other, from matter all the way up to man. When matter was lifted to life a miracle occurred, as I hold. When life was lifted to the form of the vegetable, a miracle occurred, as I hold. When the vegetable was lifted to the animal a miracle occurred, as I hold. When the animal was lifted to man a miracle occurred, as I hold.

New dispensations open with miracles. For one, I regard that as a natural law, declared by the researches of science, established by all we know of the past history of the globe. And yet it is a law apparently out of the sight of Professor Huxley.

The application of that law to the religious history of the race would make us expect miracles at the opening of the new dispensation in which Christianity appears. It would make us expect miracles, not only in connection with the creation of the first Adam, but in connection with him who is the second Adam. Christ was the culmination of the creation, so far forth as he was only a man, but the cause of creation so far forth as he was God. Christ was man; the only perfect man known to history. He was all a man should be; He was man at his

climax. He makes a new era, and in the introduction of that new era we should expect, according to this universal law, a touch of the supernatural guiding man's development along beneficent lines.

Of course I am very far from affirming that Christ is a natural development. I am very far from admitting for an instant that He is to be accounted for by anything that preceded Him. But what I do say is that his character, so far forth as he was man, is a part of human history and that it demonstrably begins a new era. His character is in itself a miracle, and according to the law that new dispensations open with miracles, this was something to have been expected.

Lift matter to life. You need a miracle to explain the process, a touch of God upon the chain of cause and effect from outside the chain. Lift vegetable to animal life. You need a miracle. Lift the animal to the natural man. You need a miracle. Lift the natural man to the regenerate man. You need a miracle to explain the change of level. And lift the regenerate man to that perfect manhood which appeared once in history in the person of our Lord, and you need another touch of the divine to explain this reality; or rather you need God incarnate. The culmination of the creation, as Dorner said, is the incarnation.

THE NATURALNESS OF THE SUPERNATURAL.

It will be noticed that I am not preaching. I am giving here my own most secret convictions; and I, for one, am not annoyed by sneers at the supernatural. There is too much of the supernatural evident behind the natural on every side of us. There is too much of it tangible in history from the beginning of the recorded story of the race up to the present hour. The character of Christ is absolutely unique in every respect in history. The sinlessness of that character is supernatural and miraculous in the fullest meaning of each word. And in connection with that supreme miracle, about which there can be no doubt, it is natural to expect other miracles. It would be very unnatural not to expect them. If history were to say of our Lord, as it says of John the Baptist, that he wrought no miracles, we

should be amazed. He was Himself a miracle, and miracles flowed from Him naturally at the beginning of a new dispensation.

What more wonderful miracle is related in the New Testament than the origination of life in the world of dead matter? What miracle is more wonderful than the creation of man? But life is here. Soul is here. It is actually true that man is here. And as Carlyle always used to say in reply to the anti-supernaturalist, man is yet man. Here are these mighty religious faculties in the human soul. Here is conscience with its unfathomable depths, here is our sense of dependence upon a power above us, our feeling of obligation to that power. Here they will remain while man continues to be man. We may be animals, but assuredly we are religious animals. And once there has appeared a Conscience that was obeyed. Once there has been seen in history a character harmonious with itself, all the faculties keeping peace with their neighbors, and this sense of obligation responded to with utmost loyalty. In that character there was no sense of sin. Such a doctrine of the new birth as He who had this character taught, had never been heard on earth from any other lips than His. Such a doctrine of the necessity of pardon had never been heard. But He himself felt no need of pardon, no need of a new birth. Such a doctrine of prayer as He taught, including special prayer for forgiveness, had never been heard from other lips than His, but He never prayed for forgiveness. Here is this character of which we must say, as Horace Bushnell used to say, that its sinlessness forbids its possible classification with men. Here it is—a historic reality. The position of infidelity in regard to it appears to me to be much like that of the bat that Wordsworth describes, the bat that shuts its eyes at noonday and cries out, “Where is the sun?”

CHRIST'S CHARACTER A PREDICTED MIRACLE.

The character of Christ was in itself a miracle. It was the beginning of a great new dispensation. But it was also a predicted miracle. It was, therefore, a part of a Divine Plan presiding over and inspiring the whole course of history.

2. Every new dispensation is predicted by its predecessor. There were earlier developments in the animal world in geological history that predicted the latter. There were premonitions of man's appearance on this planet. Rudimentary organs predicted a higher creature afar off. Take geological history as a whole, move through the vast sweep of it, and you will find not only every new dispensation opening with the supernatural, a divine touch guiding merely natural causes along beneficent lines, but you will find every dispensation uttering predictions as to its successor. It is a commonplace of science that there are organs appearing in germ in every great geological era that predict the condition in which those organs will be found in the next era. The wing, the ear, the eye, the brain did not appear at once in their perfect state. Little by little you see the development of each. Every earliest form was a prophecy of what was to come. This has been true throughout all geological history and in all ranges of the animal creation. What if every undeveloped wing in man's soul is a prophecy, and is to have free course somewhere? What if this longing of our soul for peace with itself, this deep instinct which leads us to seek, through self-surrender to God, harmony with Him, and with the laws of our own being, were premonitions from the first of something to come and indicate to us possibilities opened to us now through a new dispensation? These germs were growing in the old dispensation. I believe these germs have life in them all over the globe. They gave rise to the desire of all nations which pointed to Christ the perfect man, and for all souls a ransom. These things are in us, mighty instincts calling for deliverance from the love of sin and from the guilt of it; and if history is good for anything, if the law that every organic, ineradicable, constitutional presentiment points to reality and is to be trusted, there will be provided somewhere and somehow a satisfaction for man's longing for deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it. A Messianic longing and hope are innate in man. They are, as we have heretofore shown, a part of the earliest of the Holy Scriptures. But, under heaven and among men, no satisfaction has been found for these longings, and no fulfillment of this historic hope, except in the religion of Christ our Lord, which opened with miracles a new dispensation.

8. A new dispensation has incontrovertibly arisen in the religious history of the world, and it perfectly matches the wants of man and also the premonitions of the older dispensations. Eighteen centuries of history have been fulfilling the predictions of the Old Testament and of the New. In the history of Redemption a plan of inconceivable vastness, of which the outlines are all found in the earliest books of Revelation, continues to unfold itself along courses plainly laid down from the first. If the goodly company of the martyrs were with us ; if we could bring down from the apostolic age, and from that of the prophets of the old dispensation the saints and the heroes who labored for something better than they know ; if we could show them what has been accomplished in the growth of the kingdom of God upon earth since our Lord appeared upon the planet ; if we could bring the testimony of the centuries to those who died without the sight of anything beyond the opening of the era of the Christian dispensation and then compare our faith with theirs, how should we be obliged to hide our conceited heads in shame because of our lack of reverence for evidence. Through the constantly unrolling fulfillment which each great new dispensation gives to the prophecies of its predecessor, modern times have vastly more evidence than the ancient times had that God is in history, that God was in Christ, that God is in conscience, and that God is in the Scriptures of the old and the new dispensation. [Applause.]

JESUITISM AND OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. L. T. TOWNSEND, OF BOSTON UNIVERSITY,
AT FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, JULY 12.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The hour we have reached in the history of Boston is, in the judgment of not a few of our people, one of intensest interest ; one demanding that something decisive shall not only be resolved and said, but done. The doing, however, must not be hasty or ill-advised, for there is no time now to waste in retreats, and what energy can be commanded must not be frittered away on anything like side issues. The friends of free institutions, of whatever sect, must be in the impending conflict as cool and deliberate as the hunter's aim, as firm as granite foundations, and as determined and resolute as vengeance, or as our foes.

At the outset it is well to place before ourselves and the people of this city, in as clear light as possible, the real issue that is the occasion of this meeting. A few simple propositions may aid in doing this. If, for instance, the question now raised is one relating merely to the literary merits of a school-book, and if that question is all we are here to consider, this meeting is unquestionably ill-advised ; for there can be no doubt in any mind that the school committee of this city, without our help, is intellectually competent to decide upon the literary fitness of the text-books used.

Or if the question raised were one relating merely to the qualifications of a teacher, we were never more out of place than we are at this moment. It would be better were we to vacate quickly the hall and request the reporters to say nothing of this gathering.

Or if the people of this city of a sudden have become profoundly moved by questions as to school-teachers and books, then Boston people altogether have lost their heads at a season of the year when one should be cool and self-possessed.

Now let it, therefore, be fully understood that we are not here to discuss the accuracy or inaccuracy of Swinton's History, though there is no reasonable question as to its accuracy ; nor are we here to discuss the competency or incompetency of Mr. Travis, though we believe there is no reasonable question as to his full competency for the position he has filled, and certainly his courage, faithfulness, and independence entitle him to the admiration of every citizen of Boston, even to that of his enemies. It is refreshing to know that we have some such men among us. But I repeat we are not here to discuss the merits or the demerits, the retention or the removal, of either the text-book or the teacher by themselves considered. If Swinton's History is not among the best of the books of its class, judged by any

reputable standard, there should be no words about it ; it should have been rejected long ago.

And if Mr. Travis is not among the best of our teachers, judged by competent persons, there should be no words about it ; he should have been dismissed without delay. On the simple grounds of demerit, if these grounds really existed, both the book and the teacher, at any time in the ten or twenty years past, could have been displaced without causing so much as a ripple in the public feeling of the people of Boston.

It is rather what lies back of the action of our school committee that is making this trouble, and arousing, almost to arms, the whole city. It is when the discovery is made that what has led to the action of our school committee is a part of a deliberate and determined scheme devised by popery and in the interests of popery, to meddle with and control our school affairs, that the people of Boston may well be stirred as they have not been since the days of slavery and the rebellion. And this hall, sacred in its consecration to the welfare of humanity and of free institutions, may well open its doors and welcome the people to these deliberations.

Indeed, what discovery could be more startling than that the hand of the so-called "black pope" (the term applied to the commanding general of all Jesuits on the earth), with its blighting and accursed touch, is now pressed upon the Puritan city of Boston ? Or what discovery could be of greater concern to our people than this, that a war long since threatened is now begun — the war which the Jesuit has sworn by his most solemn oath that he will wage until popular education and religious liberty in this country shall be forever at an end ?

The logic of this subject is very simple. The Jesuitical theory of education is that it shall be under the exclusive and the absolute control of the Roman Catholic Church, and shall be tolerated only so far as it will make the youth of the land more complete devotees to the Pope of Rome. The trouble is that the public school as now constituted does not do this. Its tendency is to make of our youth more loyal citizens, and hence less devout papists. Therefore the public school is under Jesuitical curse, and it must remain there.

The Jesuit will continue to stab the public school whenever opportunity presents itself ; and if in doing this he believes he is doing God's service, he is all the more to be dreaded. But the Protestant within a few days past has concluded to endure these stabs no longer. The stabs are as if inflicted upon his own person. Hence a conflict is inevitable, and the conflict, from the nature of the case, must be continued until the Jesuits are ignored even by the Roman Catholic citizens of this country, or until these disloyal ecclesiastics are forever banished from our shores. And why should not persons be banished from among us who, when they enter the Jesuitical order, take upon themselves this oath : —

I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or state named Protestant, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers.

If such sworn enemies of our government and laws should not be excluded from the rights of citizenship, we know not who should be excluded. Here is treason as rank as any ever spoken in the Southern Confederacy. We wish no more of it. And if there is more of it (we give ample warning), there will be trouble. Our people have been slow to move. They have been over-confident; they have been indifferent; they have said there is no danger; they have built another railroad; they have bought the next bill of goods; they have deluged themselves in rose water. Or, changing the figure, our American people are so constituted that "they can see no danger until the fire reaches the bones." Yes, our people move slowly. So do the gods. But when they move, their movement will be found like that of the gods, grinding to powder unless our enemies retreat or surrender. The laws of this country against treason are to be enforced.

It is true, however, that these Jesuitical attacks upon our schools have been so insidious and plausible that it is scarcely a wonder that the very elect have been at times deceived; nor is it a wonder that the Protestants upon the school committee were deceived, and they must have been deceived; they could not have realized what they were doing, although after to-night there can be no excuse for any Protestant member of the school committee of this city if he shall yield to any Jesuitical interferences like those now brought to our attention.

We should not, however, pass in silence the fact that there were two members of that committee, and only two, who resolutely refused to yield to the Roman Catholic demands made upon them; and those two members were women, and the only women on the school board. Mrs. Fifield and Miss Hastings, doubtless, did not fully estimate at the time the vote was taken what a really grand thing they were doing. Their independence and sagacity are now honored; they are in the future to receive still greater honors. Those two women have proved beyond all question the fitness of at least some women for the faithful discharge of any public duties that may be intrusted to their hands. A few more such acts will go far to secure for the women of the land rights that, some men think, have been too long denied them. Pardon this seeming digression; its importance is its justification.

Returning to the important matter before us, we at this point may introduce a few (unmutilated) historical facts that will be of interest and profit. Not very long ago the Jesuitical complaint was made that the public school, because in it the Bible was read and prayer offered, was teaching sectarian religion. A sentiment was worked up, and the Bible and prayer were abolished from a large proportion of our schools, though the state law still provides for Bible reading. This was the first step and the first concession.

Then the Jesuitical craft took breath, waiting a little that its subsequent inconsistency might not be too glaring.

The next complaint heard was that our public schools are godless affairs, in which neither religion nor morals are taught (there being no Bible or prayers in them), and, therefore, the souls of Catholic children should no

longer be imperiled by being sent to them ; and not a few of our citizens were caught with the guile of this seeming piety. A radical Unitarian clergyman of this city — I do not see him here this evening — was short-sighted enough to use these words: —

It is not a battle between religion and irreligion ; it is a contest between rival religions. Every one looks at it from a religious standpoint. To each man the religion in which he intensely believes is a matter of supreme importance. State oppression or state interference in this highest, supreme, most sacred of all matters is tyranny, odious and unbearable. What right has the State to teach my child a doctrine that I believe will issue in irremediable, eternal ruin to that child ? If I were a sincere, earnest, intense believer in the Catholic Church, I would fight this thing to the death.

(As though any intelligent Catholic priest believes that the reading of the Bible and a few words of prayer might issue in the eternal ruin of a child !)

Enemies of the public school have taken courage from this kind of support ; that courage has been nursed, and now the next move is made, and open war is proclaimed upon all Protestant educational work. This proclamation is made, not because the school is non-religious, but because it is not Roman Catholic.

It is because the public school tends to make the coming citizen intelligent, and because it teaches truths rather than falsehoods, that has occasioned the relentless hatred, the bitter curses, and the persistent warfare of the crafty Jesuits, who in these matters seem to serve God "as if the devil were in them."

May we be allowed briefly to present evidence of what we are saying ? The forty-seventh article of the papal encyclical reads thus : "Public schools should be under the control of the Romish Church and should not be subject to the civil power, nor should they be made to conform to the spirit of the age."

Says the "Catholic World" : —

We, of course, deny the competency of the state to educate, to say what shall or what shall not be taught in the public schools, as we deny its competency to say what shall or shall not be the religious belief and discipline of its citizens. We, of course, utterly repudiate the popular doctrine that so-called secular education is the function of the state.

Says the "Freeman's Journal," another Catholic publication : —

Let the public school go where it came from — the devil.

A priest of note, Dr. Walker, says : —

I would as soon administer the sacraments to a dog as to Catholics who send their children to public schools.

"The time is not far away," says Capel, a Catholic of eminence, in Chicago, "when the Roman Catholics of the republic of the United States at the order of the Pope will refuse to pay this school tax, and will send bullets to the breasts of the government agents rather than pay it."

Among the many open attacks made upon the public school, one of the frankest is that of the Jesuit, Fr. F. T. McCarthy, in a lecture upon "Education," given December 22, 1887, in Boston at the Church of our Lady of Perpetual Help. His utterances are the more significant, because he emphatically says he is not giving an individual opinion, but is the mouthpiece of the Catholic Church. He should have added, however, that he was speaking of the Roman Catholic Church as at present dominated by this crafty and treasonable order to which he himself belongs. For we know of Roman Catholics in this city who do not agree with what Dr. McCarthy says, though they may not have the courage publicly to declare what they think ; such declaration would require the greatness and the courage of a Luther or a Dr. McGlynn.

In his address Dr. McCarthy says :—

When the state steps in and assumes the rôle of the school-teacher, then there is the invasion of the individual rights, the invasion of the domestic rights, the invasion of the rights of the church, and the invasion of Divine rights. There is no circumstance under which the state is allowed to teach. It [the public school] is subversive of the rights of the individual, subversive of the rights of the family, subversive of the rights of religion, subversive of the Divine rights of God himself. You cannot have a sufficiently vivid realization of the necessity of Catholic teaching, the teaching of Catholic children by Catholic teachers, from Catholic books, in Catholic schools. The state has no right to teach, no right to educate. It [the public school system of America] is a national fraud.

There you have it, pure and simple, and from headquarters. Gentlemen, do you understand ? Your school system is a "national fraud !" It should be sent to where it came from — "the devil." That is Jesuitism ; and, we repeat, Jesuitism to-day rules the Roman Catholic Church of the United States of America, and it is because the men who hold these views think that they now have strength enough to carry out their treasonable schemes, and because they think the school committee of Boston as at present constituted has not disposition or manhood sufficient to refuse to do their bidding, and because they think, judging from the past, that, with one or two exceptions, the secular press of this city openly and directly will not make war upon them whatever they do, and because they think that the Protestant citizens of Boston are etherized, or are paralyzed, or are asleep, or are dead, that they have demanded the rejection of a text-book because it tells the truth, and have demanded the removal of a teacher because manfully and courageously he has followed the text-book which had been placed in his hands. These demands, humiliated city of Boston, so far as your committee is empowered to act, have been obeyed.

One of the worst features of these compromising acts of the school committee is that every teacher in your public schools is to-day intimidated, and cannot tell the truth to his scholars or show his manhood, except at the peril of losing his position. Merciful heavens ! has it come to this, that the "man of black" is permitted to padlock the lips of the teachers in the city of Boston ?

And further, it is because of the intrigues and interference of these domineering, ambitious, unscrupulous, and unsanctified hordes of foreign and American Jesuits that this meeting has been called. And who will say that the time is not ripe for the calling of it?

That these men, some of whom have come so lately from the ignorance and degradation of Europe that they are not yet clean from its ditch water, the ink upon whose naturalization papers is not yet dry, should have the unblushing impudence to denounce our school system as a "national fraud," and should boldly say that the American people have enacted school laws which they have no right to enact; that these men should do these things, and swear that they will disregard and annul these laws, is enough to make the blood of every true American boil!

Citizens of Boston, these are the facts that led us a moment ago to say that it is not enough to pass a few resolutions. It is not enough to say, "Hold," or "Hands off." Doing only this would give the Jesuits the victory. We must rather demand a retreat, and force these enemies of our liberties to make that retreat or die on the field.

In this city and in every city and town of the land, working committees composed of the most influential of our citizens must be organized without delay. A citizen's militia must at every turn confront "the black militia." In the hands of five hundred of these high school boys petitions should be placed for rapid circulation. Every Protestant and every loyal Catholic of this city should have the opportunity of demanding that the Swinton text-book be replaced, and that teacher Travis be retained in the position he has held for years, until better reasons for their removal are given than have yet been offered. Let the school committee rooms be flooded with communications and letters. And if the present school committee refuses to act in these matters, then men at the earliest opportunity should be chosen who will not prove traitors to the most important trusts that can be committed to the hands of an American citizen.

And during this emergency which is upon us, why cannot the two great political parties in this country unite, or rather why cannot loyal citizens in all the different parties unite, in unfurling this political banner: "There shall be no further compromises with these enemies of the republic?" Why should not all loyal citizens of our Commonwealth resolve that Jesuits, and those who are dominated by them, shall never again hold a civil office among us; and that if they continue their vicious work they shall be banished from American soil, as at one time or another they have been banished from almost every country of Europe (except, of course, Ireland), and from Mexico, and several of the South American republics? You cannot live with these sleepless, untiring, and treacherous Jesuits. You must quit the country, or they must. Their existence in any country under heaven, as Gambetta has said, "means civil war."

Why talk longer of tariffs, or fishery treaties, or civil service reforms, of Democratic or Republican measures and victories, until a more important question is settled, and until it is known whether the American people or the Pope at Rome is to rule the United States of America?

BOOK NOTICES.

YALE LECTURES ON PREACHING AND OTHER WRITINGS. By NATHANIEL J. BURTON, D. D., Pastor of the Park Church, Hartford, Conn. Edited by Richard E. Burton. New York : Charles L. Webster & Co. London : Chatto & Windus. 1888. Octavo, pp. 640.

Dr. Burton was a man of genius, not only in power of expression, but in social, ethical, and religious insight. His Yale Lectures are a rich and rare book, to be read over and over, both for its matter and its manner. Rarely in the American or any other pulpit has so much culture been united with so much native, rugged common sense ; or so much audacity in thought and speech with so much balance of judgment and good taste ; or so much breadth, alertness, and freedom of discussion with so much Scriptural soundness of faith and authentic illumination of the Divine Spirit. There are a subtle wit and humor also in Dr. Burton's writings on almost every page, and the shrewdest kind of benevolent worldly wisdom applied to the loftiest uses. It is exceedingly uncommon to find in religious literature so much spiritual and intellectual fire as this book contains and yet no wildfire.

Among the first traits of Dr. Burton's lectures that will strike a reader not acquainted with his manner are the raciness, originality, and occasional rhetorical audacity of his style. In the lecture on veracity in ministers occurs an autobiographical passage affording some glimpse into the secrets of Dr. Burton's rhetoric : —

Absolute rhetorical veracity exhilarates like a play of electric currents through one's bulk and being. Often, when after labor or by a stroke of spontaneity I have wedded word to fact, in a match of one to the other as complete, self-evident, and triumphant as though one had been eternally predestinated for the other, every faculty in me has shouted for the moment ; — it is so satisfactory to have exactly the right thing done, and to have the rightness stand out incontestible. I think that the way in which the human mind coins words for its thoughts and perceptions, in a steady, copious run of coinage, without the least premeditation or conscious anxiety (more often than any way, and always if inspired and vital) is one of the most marvelous of things ; and indeed no mean image, but a finite duplicate rather of the creative fertility of Almighty God. As his great energies teem and teem and never tire, so do we his creatures teem ; word after word, pat and full, exact and well-rounded, the words fitting the thoughts to the last touch of fitness and the thoughts filling the words to the last touch of fullness.

In the lecture on "Routine : its Perils and Values" occurs another suggestive autobiographical passage : —

When I have gathered together a miscellaneous heap of memoranda for a sermon, the next step I need to take is to organize that miscellany under some terms

of order. It will not do to tumble it out on my congregation in its present confusion and lack of unity, any more than it will do for a painter to empty the unsorted contents of his mind on to his canvas. Well, there are several possible principles of order whereby I may reduce that heap of valuable stuff to shape and make it comprehensible; some of which principles are superficial and scarcely more dignified than a trick, while others are philosophical, deep, and true. Among these perplexing possibles I must choose. I dare not undertake to say exactly how many of the faculties of my head are involved in this business that I am now describing. A good many; I am sure of that. By my percepts I look at my written memoranda. By my memory I recall just what those very abridged and imperfect memoranda stand for. By something or other in me I decide the comparative value of those recorded items and the precise place or rank to which they therefore shall be assigned in my discourse. Undoubtedly that something or other in me is my religious nature, for one thing. For instance, an item that on inspection seems a little irreverent, my reverence rejects. An item not wholly harmonious with the revealed truth of God, my reverence and my sanctified affection and my truthfulness reject. Perhaps some one of these memoranda is full of fine analysis or full of ideality, and I shall take hold and deal with it in the use of certain corresponding powers of my nature. It begins to look as though all there is of me were embarked in this enterprise. I am not marching into it by any single faculty or any six faculties, but I am using my entire team. It is a very complex case of coöperation. But I do it easily enough. As likely as not I will have that chaos subdued in a few minutes. I do not go around among my numerous faculties and exhort each one to do his very best now and keep the touch of the elbow with his brother faculties and not get into the see-saw of an ugly mule team. When I began to make sermons, I did a good deal of this exhorting and consumed much time on it. My team had never been hitched up before — not much at any rate — certainly they had not been hitched to anything so big as a sermon. So I had to exhort them and coax and flog. But I accepted myself as I was born and proceeded to practice coördination. I exhorted the faculties. And I whipped them. I did it every week. Some weeks I thought I had gained on it. Then again, I thought I had not. However, on the whole I did gain. And now when I get my chaos assembled — my unformulated materials of discourse — all I have to do is just what a famous public singer told a friend of mine she does when she is on the stage and wants her throat to trill. She practiced daily four years, she said, and had not even then succeeded in reaching the trill she was after. The physical organs, the organs of articulation and her mind, in the several faculties involved, were not yet quite coefficient and simultaneous in their action. They could not catch the knack of hitching up together and trilling. But at last, suddenly, the lady could not tell how, the long-sought hitching-up was made and off went the trill like a bird. And ever since that moment she has had no difficulty. The inharmonious powers once harnessed up, never unharnessed. And now whenever she wants to perform that feat, she simply gives the word to the faculties concerned and they take care of it all. She feels and knows that they do it and not she. The performance is taken right out of her hands. What was volitional for a long time and accompanied with a great deal of pushing, is now involuntary; as involuntary as the tick, tick, of a wound-up clock. So the minister with the stuff of a sermon on hand, which he is going to organize. For years it went hard with him to do that — rather hard — but now the hard is easy. He can start his trill with the snap of his finger. While he is simply looking at that

mass of material, its atoms begin to move. And they do not move promiscuously either. Evidently they have been seized with a common idea. It is like the drum-call in an encampment of soldiers. The soldiers pour out innumerable and fly everywhither, but behold, they fly into companies and regiments. Those incoherent, insensate atoms (the minister's sermon stuff) do the same thing. They are not insensate. They have caught the hint of their master. It is a case of trill. They organize themselves. The minister does not do it. At most he simply watches the thing go on and enjoys it. It is just like music, the way those atoms and crude masses make haste to get themselves into orderliness and there stand in beautiful array.

Or, take the minister as publicly extemporizing, whether in prayer or discourse. Once he always rose to utter himself with trepidation. He was not sure of his words and he was not sure of his ideas. But now he could go on forever. Sometimes he does. As likely as not he is eloquent. He does not try to be. He passed clear beyond trying years ago and now it is a case of trilling. Or it is like those amazing, musically-organized Italians who improvise. Those men versify and rhyme and sing and touch the whole thing off harmoniously on their guitars, with the facility of rippling brooks, because they have for a long time turned their whole peculiar nature — body, soul, and spirit — into a routine of improvisation.

Of the same sort precisely is that unconscious personal poise, and unconscious ease of conversation, repartee, fence, and sparkle which many a woman of the world displays. Such a man as Daniel Webster or John Foster and a thousand more exceedingly able men look upon her as an almost supernatural being; she is so frightfully superior to them in all this beautiful airiness; whereas the truth is her life has been spent in that thing until she ripples, glitters, tosses you on the sharp end of her bodkin, and makes you feel like a fool, automatically. She can sparkle as easily as you can prose on the weather.

Dr. Burton's habit was to write his sermons in full, and the facility with which he did this was as remarkable as the felicity : —

Extemporaneous preachers are quite exposed to thinness. The only way to make substantial sermons is to work. Of course you have genius, but you must work. You are to be a settled minister, I suppose ; — how settled, time will tell ; — but I can give my word for it now, that if you stay any, anywhere, you must work. And you must work by right methods. Only right methods are fruitful methods. Operate your intellect according to the laws of intellect and it will team forever. For example, work excursively, and you run thin at last. Work incuratively ; that is being interpreted, penetratively, analytically, in the long-bore fashion, and you will find the artesian reservoirs of the creation, and all congregations will rejoice in you. And I want to add, the penetrative habit is as possible for small brains as for large ones. I do not mean that small brains can do all that large ones can ; but they can do all that they can ; while if they do not get into the artesian secret they will never do half in their power.

There are twenty Yale Lectures on Preaching in this substantial octavo, eight occasional addresses, nine sermons, with certain extracts from letters of travel. The Yale Lectures were substantially prepared by their author for publication. The other writings were not edited by him, but contain so many gems that the thoughtful public will wish for a full publication of his sermons in subsequent volumes.

The best food in the world for assimilative purposes is the Bible. It is food to make men thick-set, strong, healthy, sizable, and handsome. It is the only book that a man can exclusively live on and yet be broad, deep, high, manifold, and very great. (Page 325.)

One of the tokens whereby you can tell a great man from a little man and scrappy is that the latter takes truth in scraps or single phrases, and when he speaks gets right down on his scrap and cackles with all his might while the great man handles truth integrally. (Page 342.)

Jesus came from out of the sky in the main, and could not have been born in Palestine only. (Page 77.)

A doctrine that cannot be used is a false one. The salvation of theology is trying to preach it. (Page 220.)

The feasibility of a life-long chirkness and upbuilding of the soul is settled by the many plain instances of the same. (Page 356.)

It is a pretty cheap minister that never had a sermon given him. And if he can have one he can have a thousand and every one. The God that gave the one can give the rest. The man that got the one can get the rest. (Page 360.)

POLITICAL ESSAYS. By James Russell Lowell. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 326.

This book will be read in England as eagerly as in America. Most of the essays republished in it were written during the period of the Civil War. They have a high historical value as a record of the most cultured discussions of an heroic era. Their literary quality is such that they are fitted not only to instruct but to magnetize, and so they are to be read not only for information but for inspiration. While Mr. Lowell was acting as Minister in England, his occasional addresses always defended democracy in America; at home he does not hesitate to criticise the land for which he wrote the *Coronation Ode*. In the last essay in this volume, the value of "The Independent in Politics" is emphasized in words of which current events are every day showing the wisdom.

If the dangers and temptations of parties be such as I have indicated, and I do not think that I have overstated them, it is for the interest of the best men in both parties that there should be a neutral body, not large enough to form a party by itself, nay, which would lose its power for good if it attempted to form such a party, and yet large enough to moderate between both, and to make both more cautious in their choice of candidates and in their connivance with evil practices. It has been proved, I think, that the old parties are not to be reformed from within. It is from without that the attempt must be made, and it is the Independents who must make it. If the attempt should fail, the failure of the experiment of democracy would inevitably follow.

But I do not believe that it will fail. The signs are all favorable. Already there are journals in every part of the country — journals, too, among the first in ability, circulation, and influence — which refuse to wear the colors of Party. Already the people have a chance of hearing the truth, and I think that they always gladly hear it. Our first aim should be, as it has been, the reform of our civil service, for that is the fruitful mother of all our ills. It is the most aristocratic

system in the world, for it depends on personal favor and is the reward of personal service, and the power of the political boss is built up and maintained, like that of the mediæval robber baron, by his freehandedness in distributing the property of other people. From it is derived the notion that the public treasure is a fund to a share of which every one is entitled who by fraud or favor can get it, and from this again the absurd doctrine of rotation in office so that each may secure his proportion, and that the business of the nation may be carried on by a succession of apprentices who are dismissed just as they are getting an inkling of their trade to make room for others who are in due time to be turned loose on the world, passed masters in nothing but incompetence for any useful career. From this, too, has sprung the theory of the geographical allotment of patronage, as if ability were dependent, like wheat, upon the soil, and the more mischievous one that members of Congress must be residents of the district that elects them, a custom which has sometimes excluded men of proved ability, in the full vigor of their faculties and the ripeness of their experience, from the councils of the nation. All reforms seem slow and wearisome to their advocates, for these are commonly of that ardent and imaginative temper which inaccurately foreshortens the distance and overlooks the difficulties between means and end. That the Independents are so heartily denounced by those who support and are supported by the system that has been gradually perfected during the last fifty years is an excellent symptom. We must not be impatient. Some of us can remember when those who are now the canonized saints of the party which restored the Union and abolished slavery were a forlorn hope of Mugwumps, the scorn of all practical politicians. Sydney Smith was fond of saying that the secret of happiness in life was to take short views, and in this he was but repeating the rule of the Greek and Roman poets, to live in every hour as if we were never to have another. But he who would be happy as a reformer must take long views, and into distances sometimes that baffle the most piercing vision.

THE POLITICAL PROHIBITIONIST FOR 1888. A Hand-book for the Aggressive Temperance People of the United States. Funk & Wagnalls. New York. London. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 160.

This is a well-arranged armory of weapons for the defense of the Prohibition party. Authoritative and almost official, as coming from the leading temperance publishing house, it is also scholarly, candid, and fair. It is surprisingly comprehensive and detailed, and yet so methodical, so compact, and so fully indexed, as to be easy of reference even on minute points.

VOL. II. — NO. 8. 10

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY BISHOP JAMES M. THOBURN, OF CALCUTTA, AT TREMONT
TEMPLE, BOSTON.

43. *What are the prospects of Keshub Chunder Sen's followers as a religious sect, in India?*

The Brahmo movement in India received a severe check when Keshub Chunder Sen died. The last two years, perhaps three years, of his life he suggested so many changes, and these in such rapid succession, and some of them were so radical, and a few of them so wild, that his own people began to oppose him, some of them looked serious, and it was noticed that everywhere among the various branches of his organization there was a standstill. When he died a most unhappy feud broke out among his followers. Many of you may remember that Mr. Mozumdar, who spent some weeks in Boston, was at that time on a tour around the globe. On his return, he had reached, if I remember correctly, the city of Rangoon, when he heard by telegraph of Keshub Chunder's death. He lost no time in hastening on to Calcutta. When he arrived he naturally expected to become the accepted leader of the Brahmo Somaj movement. He had been Keshub Chunder's trusted lieutenant for some years; he had stood the nearest to him; he had been his ablest follower. And yet it was whispered among the disciples of the great leader, I cannot say how truly, that he had forfeited the confidence of Keshub Chunder Sen some little time before he started on this tour. It was said that when he wished to go, he asked Keshub Chunder Sen's advice and his master forbade him. But when Mozumdar, acting upon what many Brahmos regard as the best rule, that one must be guided in all things implicitly by the inner light which the spirit of God gives, announced that he had been sent of God to make this tour of the globe, and set out, he was not directly forbidden to go farther, although it was said that Keshub Chunder Sen had looked upon the whole journey with grave misgivings. When Mozumdar arrived at Calcutta he found the apostles of the great leader who had then departed very unwilling to receive him. They regarded him as a brother, but not as a master. And at once a dispute sprang up as to whether he should be permitted to occupy the official pulpit, which is a little cushioned platform, upon which Keshub Chunder had been accustomed to sit when he gave his little sermons. I will not give you the details of that somewhat painful dispute. I may say that both parties waited upon me, and that I had every opportunity for understanding the whole case. The outside public never could be interested in it, but the end of it was that in spite of all that has been done by friends, and in spite of all their own

efforts, Keshub Chunder Sen's followers have never yet been able to agree. I received a paper from Calcutta this morning which gives an account of their anniversary meeting. I have often attended that anniversary when Keshub Chunder Sen was living, and I have seen the great Town Hall in Calcutta, a room that will hold nearly twice as many, perhaps, as Tremont Temple, filled to its whole length of two hundred and some odd feet, in every part, and so densely crowded that perhaps not one half the people could hear the orator's remarks. On the present occasion it was stated that one lady, about ten Europeans, and a moderate group of the Bengalee people were assembled to hear Mr. Mozumdar. He gave as faithfully as he could a description of the present state of the Brahmo Somaj. He said that their whole condition might be expressed by the one word anarchy. They are quarreling still. And the most painful part of this series of events is that not very long before Keshub Chunder's death he issued a remarkable proclamation to the religious people of all nations, a proclamation which Mr. Cook once characterized upon this platform as the last and worst production of that great man, and in it he appealed to men everywhere to give up their sectarian bickerings and be united as one, and announced that he was authorized of God to proclaim, and was now presenting before the world, a broad basis of truth upon which all could agree. It has been a very sad commentary upon this proclamation that his own people have been quarreling with one another ever since, and that the word "anarchy" this morning describes their condition.

In Calcutta at the present time the Brahmos are divided into three classes,—you might possibly say four. First we have the original body, sometimes called the conservative Brahmos. They are in a moribund state, and we hardly know that they have an organization. Then there are the real conservatives, a body of excellent men, who have a church on one of the leading streets of the city, with a congregation of about four hundred every Sunday evening, and a service which would not differ, perhaps, in many respects from what I suppose a Unitarian service in Boston to be. Then we have the followers of Keshub Chunder Sen, and they are but a mere handful. I could not say how many, but I suppose there are not more than three hundred now who adhere to what may be called the radical wing of the party. They are divided into two factions, one led by Mr. Mozumdar, and the other by the sons of Keshub Chunder. Their followers are few in number, because Mr. Mozumdar, being somewhat an orator, has the young men following him.

But with regard to their prospects as a religious body, I do not see that they have any encouraging outlook. In the first place, the Brahmos are almost exclusively Bengalees; and while they aim to give religion to the world, they cannot get any attention worth mentioning from any other race in India except the Bengalees. It is just as if you were to have a movement in Italy, and the Italians were to speak of themselves as representing all Europe. As matter of fact, the Bengalees are a nation of forty millions of people, but there are ninety millions of Hindustani people in India, and

other nations numbering twenty millions, and this movement is confined to only one people. If Brahmoism is to have any future at all, I should venture to say that it will be when some great religious movement is pervading the whole empire. If a man of ability, if a man of religious genius, if a man of spiritual temperament, such as Keshub Chunder was, should begin to delve into his writings, he might, I think, bring forth, from all that is on record there, enough to found a system which in time might become a great system indeed. But for the present I see no prospect whatever except that the followers of this religious reformer will go on, perhaps, holding meetings, attracting a lessening degree of public attention, and waiting events. [Applause.]

REPLIES BY MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, OF IOWA, AT TREMONT TEMPLE,
BOSTON.

44. *What are the prospects of constitutional prohibition in the cities of Iowa?*

It is of temperance in Iowa I wish to speak. And let me give you first this cheerful announcement, that there is not a saloon or a gambling den to-day in Sioux City, the city where Haddock fell. [Loud applause.]

MR. COOK. Why was his murderer not brought to justice?

MRS. FOSTER. That introduces a subject that I should be very glad to speak upon. Why was his murderer not convicted under our laws? Why was the man who for so long a time was on trial not found guilty? Because the jury were drawn and organized to acquit and not to convict. I went many miles that I might see the attorneys in that case. One of them, the leading attorney, said to me, "I knew as soon as we had succeeded in impaneling the jury that those men would never convict, no matter what testimony should be brought before them." How does it happen that in a Christian commonwealth such a thing can be? Under our system of criminal jurisprudence in this country the law gives every opportunity to the criminal. The law stands with him, and the state must do the best it can to convict him. All the presumptions are in his favor, and so are the very rules of jury trial. The state has only half as many challenges as the defense has. Why is this so? Because the theory of the law is that it is better for a guilty man to escape than for an innocent man to suffer.

Why did that theory obtain? Because it is only within the last quarter of a century, in this country, that crime has been organized into a visible shape, so that we have schools of criminals, professional criminals, systems that make and raise criminals. The supposition formerly always was that a man came alone without defense under the law before the tribunal of the law. Now, since the liquor traffic has grown to such proportions, since it is the twin barbarism with that other, the gambling den, which is always associated with it, since these conditions have arisen the criminal stands before the bar in another relation than that in which he did stand twenty-five years ago. Perhaps you have never thought about this change. My own attention was not attracted to it until I began to investigate the reason why Had-

dock's murderer was not convicted. I never have uttered this opinion before upon any platform, but it comes to me with great conviction to-day. Our system of jurisprudence is wrong. I know that this is a dangerous doctrine. I know that I am making a very extreme statement. But our civilization has come to such a pass that the state needs protection by the law quite as much as the criminal needs protection by the law. [Applause.]

Our legislature in Iowa to-day is discussing a new law concerning the matter of the selection of jurors. Our thinking men are to-day revising our jury system, and they say it shall not be possible again that there shall be such a shameful scene as was enacted in Sioux City in that matter which has been our State's disgrace the world over. But the system would never have been touched unless through some great disgrace like this which compelled men to stop and think and ask, what can we do? Under our system the sheriff of the county calls from the by-standers men to make up the special venire, from which the *petit* jury is taken in the trial of a case. With us the sheriff is elected by the popular vote, and the popular vote of the county to which Sioux City belongs is for liquor and not for temperance. That city never would have chosen prohibition, but we had scooped up the cool calm vote of the rural districts and forced prohibition upon it. The mass of voters in Sioux City did not accept prohibition. Now, then, what did this sheriff do? Exercising his power to call from the by-standers those whom he chose, and present them before the court to be sworn as jurors, he drew men whom he knew were in sympathy with the brewer.

What is the remedy? A system is being planned by which this power of choosing jurors shall not rest with the sheriff as it has done formerly. What did the people do? Stung with the shame of the disgrace of their city they have put out that sheriff, and there is a good temperance man now in his place. [Applause.] And he has chosen as his deputy the agent of the temperance people, a man who has always stood with them in the enforcement of law.

It is easy for you to say, Aha, aha! Look at Iowa! But you do not know how every inch of the way in the temperance reform has to be contested in our cities. You do not know how we have to fight on every line of approach. It seems to be blood for blood. Never mind, dear old Massachusetts, we are young and strong in the West. We will fight these battles, and when constitutional prohibition shall come, as it will, to you in Massachusetts, we will have had a good many of these little things settled for you, and we will pass them on to you. [Applause.]

The population of the Iowa state prison is so falling off that the warden in his last report to the governor apologizes for the failure in the contract system. We have not prisoners enough to fill out the contract that was made three years ago on the supposition that they would keep coming in. [Laughter and applause.] That is the fact, my friends. There is no sentiment in that; it is cold reality. We have a new law pending which will give prisoners longer "good time." This means that a prisoner who keeps the rules and does his duty well may earn a few days to be taken off his

sentence at the end. Advanced prison legislation is increasing this time all the while, and we have a bill now pending to increase it much more largely. But our prison officials say it must not go into immediate operation ; that it must only apply to prisoners who shall be sentenced in the future, inasmuch as, if it should apply immediately, the deficit on the contract would be still greater.

Our governor asks the legislature to consolidate some of our judicial districts. He says it has appeared in the last two years that there is not business enough for the courts to justify so many judicial districts, and therefore he asks the legislature to make the number smaller. [Applause.] Is that the enthusiasm of a temperance platform ? Not a bit of it. It is the message of the governor to the legislature. It is just as good testimony as the case is susceptible of, and that is the best that any court dare demand. But I must not squander the time, glorious and beautiful as it is to me to bring to you this good news. [Cries of "Go on," "Go on,"]

45. *Why ought the internal revenue taxes on liquors to be abolished ?*

In Washington the government sits over its bags of gold proud that we have a surplus revenue of fifty millions of dollars. While the nations of Europe can scarcely pay the interest on their bonds we are settling with our creditors faster than they desire. But the gold comes, millions and millions and millions of it, as the price of blood. Shame, shame, that this is so, but it is the fact. Since ten or fifteen years ago, when I began to study the relation of the government to the temperance question, I have been affirming that the complicity of the nation in the gains and crimes of the liquor traffic is wrong, and it is wrong. Before any one whom I knew had lifted up a voice against it, I did. The people of the country are obliged now to stop and consider the matter. It is God's opportunity, and again I reiterate the things I said years ago about it.

The American internal revenue system is untenable in law, inexpedient in politics, and bad in morals.

Why is it untenable in law ? The tax was imposed in the year 1862 because under the stress of the war the nation wanted money. We needed an extra fund to satisfy the great demand that was then on us. And the government looking around exercised its war power, its emergency power, its discretionary power, if you please, as we speak of the discretionary power of the courts, to impose this tax. The tax was put upon many things, not only upon this, but upon many other articles of manufacture. You know the American idea, our system of raising revenue, is by duties on imports. But since there was extra need, there was this extra tax. We lived through the war, the war is over, and the country has been greatly prospered. There is no necessity in our circumstances for continuing the tax after the occasion which demanded it has passed away. [Applause.] Therefore it is untenable in law.

It is urged that the general government by the imposition of this tax does restrain the traffic. That is a great mistake. It does not restrain the traffic in any sense whatsoever. The more the traffic grows and thrives the better

the general government is pleased, because more money comes in. The spirit of the tax is not restraint ; it is not repression ; it is revenue. There is no other spirit in it but the spirit of revenue. The more liquor made and the more sold the better for the revenue. Good people make a great mistake here sometimes. In the matter of a state tax, or what is popularly known as the license law, there is the spirit of repression. It is a mistaken spirit, because it does not repress, but there is the idea of repression in a state license law, because the state goes on and says a man shall not sell unless he complies with certain conditions. One of them is that he shall pay money, but others of them are that he shall keep an orderly place, that he shall not sell to minors nor habitual drunkards. In license there are a great many restrictions, all of which tend to repression and restraint. But not so with the government tax. The government does not care what kind of a place a man keeps. It had just as soon he would sell to drunkards and to minors as to anybody. Revenue is all that the internal tax on whiskey aims at.

Do not say, "I do not believe in the general government tax because I do not believe in any license law." There is no parallel there at all. If I should choose between a state license law and a general government tax, upon moral considerations, upon the rightfulness and the spirit of the law, I would choose the state license law every time. There is more apology for a state license law ; there is more in it that looks toward prohibition than there is in the general government tax. There is not a particle of prohibition in the general government tax ; there is, under some conditions, in the state tax. The spirit of the state tax tends toward repression. The spirit of the general government tends only towards revenue. So, friends, do not congratulate yourselves that the supervision of the liquor manufacture by the general government tends to the decrease of the traffic in liquor, for it does not in any sense whatever.

But, more than that, it is not possible, according to our constitution, for the general government to exercise supervision of the traffic in the States. Supervision may be exercised, but it must be by the police power of the State and not by the general government, and thus the internal revenue tax is untenable in law. I have used the term unconstitutional. I do it in this sense. I do not dare to say that a statute is unconstitutional until some court has decreed that it is unconstitutional, but I do dare to say that this tax law is against the spirit of the constitution if it is not contrary to the letter. This is debatable ground. If there is a lawyer here who hears me he no doubt desires me to be cautious. I know that this is dangerous ground, but I choose to go to it and to stand upon it. [Applause.]

Why is the internal revenue tax on the manufacture of liquors inexpedient in politics ? What do I mean by politics ? I mean the practical application of the great legal and moral principles of the government. The tax is inexpedient in politics because the war, which was the occasion of the putting on of the tax, also marked a controversy between two governmental principles, one the state's sovereignty, and the other national supremacy.

It was on that ground that the war was fought ; the life, the spirit of it, of course, came from the question of human slavery. Now, that issue, the war issue, is ended; it is dead. To-day the supremacy of the stars and stripes is acknowledged everywhere. No state puts up a flag to-day to wave in the breeze above the stars and stripes. So the war issue being dead, the war tax ought to go. It is expedient it should go. The tax is a continual reminder to the people in the South, the moonshiners in the mountains of both Carolina and Georgia, of the controversy which did exist, and which was the occasion of the putting on of the tax. There is continual friction between the state government and the general government, and that friction we ought to avoid. We are drawn so closely together now by our great railway and telegraph systems, and by the press that goes everywhere, we have to live so close together, that it is necessary that all occasion of friction be removed ; and this is an occasion of friction, which ought to be put away.

The repeal of the tax is advocated by men of the North and men of the South. A very strange union of effort is seen here, for I find myself circulating the documents given to me by Senator Brown of Georgia, who is an opposer of prohibition, and yet who believes in the repeal of the tax. You ask, "How can you stand on the same platform with a man who does not stand with you in the advocacy of the principle of prohibition?" I reply, because he happens to be, from political or from economical reasons which appeal to him with his Southern constituents, where I am. I am very glad that by some arrangement I can go over and stand with him a while ; and if I stand with him in asking for the repeal of the tax, it may be that I can induce him to come over and stand with me for state prohibition by and by. [Applause and laughter.] Let us be glad when we can find a common platform. All Republicans do not favor the repeal of the tax. Some of the best men in Iowa, some of the strongest Prohibitionists are opposed to it. Our veteran Chief Justice Miller, not of the United States court, but of the state Supreme Court, a most earnest advocate of prohibition, a Christian man, and one in every sense worthy to honor the highest judicial tribunal of the state or of the nation, is opposed to the repeal, and he mourns greatly over my departure from what he regards as judicious opinion. I am sorry to leave him, but I must go where the truth leads me. That is more precious than any association of men or women in the temperance or any other work. [Applause.] So Judge Henderson, who is to-day the most vigorous man on the bench, an absolute terror to all liquor dealers, came out in a long article the other day and said, "I am sorry to know that our Mrs. Foster, who has stood with us so gloriously in Iowa, is out for free whiskey." [Laughter.] That is pretty severe, is it not? But never mind; it is all right, friends. When hearts are right, infidelity of heads soon clears away. Out of the heart are the issues of life in morals and in law as well.

The national tax impedes the enforcement of the state temperance laws. The dignity which the traffic acquires from the countenance which the general government gives it, makes it harder for us to oppose it in the States.

A certain moral standing is possessed even by the liquor traffic when it comes into the forum as a partner with the general government. The whiskey power at Washington could not control state power, as it sometimes does, if it did not have the dignity of national power to support it. As a friend in Washington, who is connected with the revenue department, told me, the big distillers and brewers who go to Washington go in the interest of the tax. They do not wish it abolished. They would like to have it reduced to suit their convenience, but they do not want it taken off, because it gives them a degree of indorsement. In law, when your opponent gets into court he has a chance. If you can keep him out of court you have gained a good deal. The liquor dealers of the country are in court when we take their money, and this money has a most dangerous stupefying power upon the conscience of the country.

But would not liquor be cheaper and everybody drink if the tax were taken off? No, not if it were only a cent on a glass less. Our chief statistician at Washington has said that the price of liquor might average seven eighths of a cent on a glass less if all the tax was removed. But it is not the price of the liquor that controls the drunkard; it is his appetite, it is his sensual desire. Besides, temperance reformers propose not only the repeal of the tax, but also that the manufacture of intoxicants shall be prohibited by the national government.

REPLY BY THE REV. DR. A. J. GORDON.

46. *What has given such exceptional success to the MacAll Mission in Paris?*

The religious and the political reaction in France have been quite parallel in their character. The one has been from imperialism to republicanism and the other from formalism to informalism. Everything clerical or ecclesiastical is at vast discount with the people. Priestly attire of every cut and church ceremonies of every degree are so distasteful that they must be entirely disused if the interest of the masses is to be in any degree regained. To say nothing of the church which the large majority have long since deserted, even the name of chapel is repelling. Therefore the *hall* in which the MacAll Mission is doing its work is found to be exactly the place; and the simple evangelistic service — reading of Scripture, popular singing, and brief conversational address — exactly the service that draws the people.

One is astonished to find what meagre audiences even the most eloquent Protestant preachers get in their churches and chapels. Pastor Monod, Pastor Fisch, Pastor Pressensé having often hardly more than two or three score of hearers. We addressed several of the week-night meetings of Mr. MacAll in his various *salles*, and invariably found large audiences. It was noticeable that everything savoring of ecclesiastical formality was avoided, and that the service was simple, direct, friendly, and helpful to the last degree. In this mission the starting-point of Christianity has been resumed; religion has returned to the common room; Christ is set forth in the dialect of every-day life, and once more the common people hear him gladly.

It is a most interesting experience to worship with the humble companies that gather in these halls, and to speak to them the word of life, as we have done evening after evening of the present week. They manifest a deep sympathy with what is said; and in the after-meetings they speak and pray as those who evidently know the grace of God and the love of Jesus Christ his Son. The plain rooms, the bare floors, the wooden benches seem more attractive to them than the magnificent cathedral into which they might step for special worship, but for which they evidently have no taste. In a word, here is a genuine revival, which always means a return to primitive Christianity.

One is struck by the fact that revival and apostasy are advancing side by side in Europe. The ritualism of the English cathedral is rapidly carrying the Anglican Church back to the Middle Ages, and reinvesting her with the trinkets and trumpery of "the scarlet woman." But the evangelicals of that body are moving in an exactly opposite direction, towards simplicity in worship and warm fellowship with all true Christians. As the one party becomes more formal, the other becomes more informal; as the one is moving for restoration of organic unity by reunion with the Greek and Roman churches, the other is moving for spiritual unity by fellowship with all believers who in simplicity and in truth hold the Head. The MacAll Mission is a symptom of the present-day revival, not something unique or abnormal.

Ecclesiasticalism is reviving alarmingly in England; but in England also, and in France and in Italy, Lollardism and Huguenotism and Waldensianism are reviving also. All the last mean the same, a return to primitive Christianity — a reassembling in the upper room.

Paris, July 9, 1888.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A MEETING called to protest against papal interference in the management of the Boston public schools crowded Faneuil Hall, July 12, so full that a great overflow assemblage was organized in Tremont Temple. No more significant popular gatherings to discuss educational topics have been held in Boston. The founding of parochial schools in every Roman Catholic parish able to sustain them has been going on in the United States for some years. But a yet more audacious scheme of the Catholic hierarchy is to obtain practical control of the courses of instruction in the public schools by manipulating such school boards in large towns as have a majority of Catholic members. It is the latter style of attack on public schools that has aroused Boston. Swinton's excellent "Outline of Universal History," one of the approved Boston text-books, was complained of by the Catholic Father Metcalf, for containing a foot-note calculated to raise prejudices against the Catholic Church for the sale of indulgences in Luther's day. The note gave such information on this subject as every respectable cyclopedia, not tutored by Catholic editors, now contains. It was in these words, which are not more severe than have sometimes been employed by recent Catholic historians themselves:—

"These indulgences were, in the early ages of the Church, remissions of the penances imposed upon persons whose sins had brought scandal on the community. But in process of time they were represented as actual pardons of guilt, and the purchaser of indulgence was said to be delivered from all his sins."

Professor G. P. Fisher, of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Department of Yale University, in his recent, highly authoritative work on the "Outlines of Universal History," says, p. 397:—

"Indulgences were the remission, total or partial, of *penances*, and, in theory, always presupposed repentance; but, as the business was managed in Germany at that time, it amounted in the popular apprehension to a sale of absolution from guilt, or to the ransom of deceased friends from purgatory, for money. These gross abuses were painful to sincere friends of religion."

The tone, if not the substance, of the note in Swinton's History, was objectionable to the Catholic members of the school board. They secured a majority and threw out the book from use in the Boston schools. An able and efficient teacher, Mr. Travis, was removed from his department of historical instruction and given a different position, and this on the ground that he had taught what the expelled text-book contained on the subject of indulgences. It was in protest against these acts of the Boston School Board that the Faneuil Hall meeting was called, and met with such over-

whelming support. The Rev. Dr. A. A. Miner presided, and eloquent addresses were made by the Rev. Prof. L. T. Townsend, of Boston University, the Rev. Dr. James M. Gray, of the Reformed Episcopal Church of Boston, the Rev. Drs. Moxom, Ela, Plumb, and Gifford, all of Boston, besides the Rev. Thomas E. Leyden, the converted Catholic. The following resolutions, with which we heartily sympathize, were one by one greeted by the audience with every demonstration of approval and unanimously adopted.

Whereas, the citizens of Boston, feeling that the time has come for a public expression of disapproval of certain sentiments uttered by Roman Catholic teachers of eminence among us, and of certain acts of the school committee of our city done in servile obedience to the requirements of the papal priesthood, therefore

1. Resolved, while we heartily welcome to equal citizenship with ourselves peoples of foreign birth, that we do not expect this welcome to be turned to our disadvantage, and that we regard disloyalty to our government and all attacks upon our educational, political, and religious institutions by naturalized citizens and their descendants as evidence of the basest kind of ingratitude for benefits that generously have been conferred by our republic upon the downtrodden of all countries.

2. Resolved, that, while we faithfully will defend the rights of every person and of every sect among us, as guaranteed under our constitution, we, nevertheless, most emphatically declare that we will not tolerate any attempts, clerical or lay, popish or other, that seek, directly or indirectly, to enthrone disloyalty in the hearts of our citizens, or that seek to subvert the institutions established by our fathers and bequeathed by them to us, their children. And, since a free people need to be well educated, and since the youth of our land need to be taught loyalty to our republican institutions, therefore

3. Resolved, that we detest, more than we have words to express, the vicious claims of the Jesuits that the state should have no voice whatever in the education of its future citizens.

4. Resolved, that the policy which has led us to make concessions demanded by Jesuits has been short-sighted, and has paved the way for other and more extravagant demands by those who will be satisfied by nothing except absolute authority and control.

5. Resolved, that we will make no more concessions to these enemies of the republic.

6. Resolved, that the demands which led to the attempted removal of Mr. Travis, a popular and eminently successful teacher, and the displacement of Swinton's valuable history, with the reasons assigned for these changes, are a piece of unjustifiable insolence, and that the book and the teacher should be restored to their places until other and better reasons are given for their removal.

7. Resolved, that during the continuance of this conflict between loyalty and disloyalty we heartily invite the coöperation of all Roman Catholics who appreciate the blessings of American citizenship.

8. Resolved, that we will refuse to vote for any person for any public office whose allegiance to any foreign power or potentate is such as to make him less regardful for public trusts than for the requirements of those who have no love for our political, educational, and religious institutions, and who gladly would see them wrecked.

9. Resolved, that the patriotism and courage of Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, mayor of New York city, in opposing the aggressions and greed of those who heretofore have controlled the city, and who for sectarian purposes have taken millions of dollars from its treasury, are in the highest degree commendable, and may well be imitated by officials in the city of Boston.

10. Resolved, that Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Rev. Philip S. Moxom, Rev. James M. Gray, Rev. A. H. Plumb, D. D., Rev. D. H. Ela, D. D., Prof. L. T. Townsend, and Brice S. Evans, secretary, be appointed a committee to unite with a similar committee just appointed at the overflow meeting in Tremont Temple, to enlarge their joint number to a permanent committee of fifty, to take immediate action to protect the public schools from all assaults of the Romish hierarchy.

The Rev. Dr. Cuyler, in the following article, withdraws his support from the Republican party on account of its unsatisfactory position on the temperance question.

"I claim the privilege, as an old-fashioned Lincolnite Republican, to enter my earnest protest against its reactionary 'plank' on the most controverted question of the hour. In 1884 the Republican Convention wisely declared in favor of the revision of the tariff and the reduction of the enormous and *dangerous* surplus. But this year's convention has strangely declared in favor of the practical maintenance of the present exorbitant and oppressive war tariff, and in order to provide against the accumulation of a surplus, it *suggests* a repeal of the taxes on whiskey and tobacco! Instead of taking off the burdens from many necessities of life, it would give us free pipes and free whiskey!

"Six months ago Mr. Blaine, in his so-called 'message from Paris,' very sagaciously said: 'I would not advise the repeal of the whiskey tax. There is a *moral side* to it. To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase its consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many States, if the national government neutralizes the good effect by making whiskey within reach of every one at twenty cents a gallon. It would destroy high license at once in all the States.' Very true, Mr. Blaine; and it would bring in a carnival of Beelzebub and Bacchus all over the land.

"I am not the only dissident against the extreme high tariff heresies of the late convention. Many of the most powerful Republican journals are protesting against them, and such staunch and thoughtful Republicans as ex-Mayor Seth Low, and the Rev. Dr. Storrs, and many others of our Brooklyn citizens, are in open revolt against them. Dr. Storrs said to me yesterday that, as he could not turn Democrat, he should imitate Sambo in the

story, and 'take to the woods.' If all of us Republicans who are opposed to free trade and free whiskey, and yet are strenuously in favor of reducing the present outrageously oppressive tariff, should follow the example of Dr. Storrs, the 'woods' will be pretty full by next November. The immense surplus in the national treasury is fraught with increasing evils and dangers. There is a growing discontent among the intelligent working classes with high taxes on the necessities of life. The many are now burdened for the benefit of the few. It is in the power of the Republicans in the present Congress, to correct *immediately* many of the unjust features of this odious 'war tariff,' if they will set resolutely and boldly about it. They will thus 'spike the guns' of the free-traders. They will neutralize the unhappy effect of that pronouncement in favor of free whiskey as an alternative. They will prevent a political cyclone that will gather volume as the season rolls on. This is a question that deeply concerns both the financial stability and the public morality of the nation. For party politics in the narrow sense, I care but little; for principles that alone can make parties effective for the public weal, I care a great deal. Thirty years ago I used my tongue and pen zealously for the Republican party in its early conflicts with the monster of chattel-slavery. Its name and fame are dear to me; and I trust that it may not become itself enslaved to the reactionary rule of those who would build up monopolies at the expense of the great mass of the people. This is a question of absorbing interest, and touches great moral issues." — *The Evangelist*.

The Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs, in a letter of July 20 from Elizabethtown, N. Y., to "The Independent," severely criticises several points in the Republican platform, but intimates that, on the whole, he thinks it best to support the Republican party. He says :—

"I do not like the platform set forth at Chicago any better now than a month ago. That platform says, practically, as I understand it, 'Keep the tariff as it is, increase it if need be for further protection to particular industries, and reduce the revenue, if it continue too large, by taking off the internal taxes on tobacco and whiskey.' In the second of these conditional provisions the platform seems to take, in substance, the very ground which was presented in the Democratic platform of four years ago, against which I then argued and voted; and I am wholly unable to shift my position so suddenly and completely.

"I believe, still, that the tax on whiskey hampers its manufacture, discourages and measurably limits its use. It is, at any rate, a kind of national protest against the unchecked consumption of the dangerous article; and for moral reasons, as well as economical, I desire to have it maintained and unsparingly collected. To represent the best sentiment of the Republican party, the platform, it seems to me, should, on this question, have faced exactly the other way; while to it should have been added—not a general commonplace sentence, approving temperance and morality, to which everybody outside of a jail or an asylum must say Amen

— but a hearty and unequivocal indorsement of the efforts made in many States, and made chiefly by Republicans, to limit the sale of intoxicants by imposing high license-fees on those engaged in the business. This is the one ethical question surviving in our politics, and presenting itself in the present "campaign." The answer to it should be not theoretic, in the clouds, but prompt, practical, and governing, on the line of salutary social regulation; and it is an occasion of profound regret that the party which faced slavery and fought it to the death, and which rescued the nation from the bottomless bog of an irredeemable currency, should have failed to see and to seize the great opportunity to do here an analogous work. The late convention appears to me to have been on this subject distinctly untrue to the best and noblest traditions of the party, and to have quite disregarded that force called Conscience, which was wont to be its most effective and persistent ally.

"At the same time, however, I cannot conceal from myself the fact that even on this subject reliance is to be placed on the Republican party, rather than on that which principally opposes it, in any endeavor to assist by law the interest of temperance. This is certainly not a suggestion of prejudice. Many friends whom I highly honor are reckoned among Democrats, and their personal sympathies must be unreservedly on the side of good order and the best public welfare. But the history of recent years in our own State seems enough to show that, as a rule, the Republican party favors temperance, and would support it by law wherever practicable, while the chief opposition to it comes from the other side. I can only find indication of the future in what has hitherto appeared; and so, in spite of what seems to me the very serious and threatening error in the platform at Chicago, I think it best, as thus far advised, to continue to act with the Republican party, hoping, not without confidence, that it will prove wiser, sounder, more courageous in this matter, than were those who undertook to speak in its name. If this shall be so, it will not be the first time that its diffused moral life has surpassed and overridden the feeble or the artful statements of those who sought to be leaders in it. The purpose and spirit of a great historic party are not determined, however they may be transiently affected, by the occasional platforms set up in its name.

"On the question of the tariff my position is not very different from that which I have outlined on this matter of temperance. I am not an expert in discussions of this sort, but for more than forty years, ever since I began to think seriously on the subject, I have not doubted that it is the right and the duty of a nation situated as ours is to encourage and protect its own industries, up to the point of making them self-sustaining, and self-sustaining on a basis of wages higher than those paid in European countries to mechanics and laborers of equal skill. It seems to me not important only, but positively indispensable to national progress on a large scale, that the fabrics of woollen, cotton, linen, of iron, steel, glass, wood, tin, clay, which are needed here in common use, should be produced on our shores, and not be generally imported from abroad. Manufacturing independence is as

important in its place as is political independence, is, in fact, closely associated with that ; while it appears to me wholly incorrect to assert that a tariff having this end in view will finally oppressively exaggerate the price of the fabrics here used and produced. On the other hand, the sharp attrition of domestic competitions, with improvements in instruments, and the progress in education of mind and hand, tends naturally to reduce prices to what they would have been, or to less than they would have been, if the same articles had been brought over the sea, and if the foreign manufacturers had not had to reckon with effective competition on this side of the ocean.

"At the same time the ampler and more constant markets for farm products established near at hand, with the more various forms of industry and enterprise constantly fostered, are for the benefit of the whole community. General prosperity is advanced ; money circulates more rapidly and widely ; public education is set forward ; families live more comfortably, in better houses, and enterprising youth have larger opportunity opened before them. A nation as recent as ours, on an area so vast, seems absolutely to require such a policy of protection to its home industries, for its best development, and its most free and harmonious progress. On any other line of policy a foreign country like England, territorially small, but densely peopled, whose workmen expect only very low wages, and whose factories, cheaply erected, long-existing, are all relatively near the seaboard, will always be able to undersell Americans in their own markets, thus hindering the development and limiting the range of their proper industries. I have never, therefore, been what is called a "free-trader," and in all probability shall never become one. The policy of protection, which our fathers initiated almost a hundred years ago, commends itself to me as essentially wise ; and I cannot vote for any party, or any candidate, by whom tariff-laws are regarded as an inequitable scheme, permitting a tax to be laid upon every community in the land for the benefit of manufacturers, and adding the amount of the duty to the cost of living in every home. Such statements, with others of a similar tenor presented in the President's message of seven months ago, seem logically to intend free-trade as their conclusion, whether or not that conclusion is distinctly announced. The English press appears to me unquestionably right in putting this interpretation upon them. With my contrary convictions, I could not honestly cast a vote in that direction.

"This does not at all imply, however, that the tariff, as at present existing among us, appears to me the fair and final thing which the Chicago platform seems implicitly to assume it to be. On the other hand, I regard it as at many points defective and injurious, needing prompt and careful revision, and a wise readjustment. Such readjustment must be always in order where a tariff has long continued unchanged. Obviously, when domestic manufacturers, which at first needed to be protected, have received that protection till they have become self-sustaining, and self-sustaining on the basis of fair American wages, the duties on the similar foreign products may be gradually lowered, to the present relief of purchasers, and without peril to the life of our own industries. So any diminution which occurs in

the cost of materials entering into our fabrics, through the stimulus given to their production, will enhance, may enhance unduly, the profit on those fabrics; while combination among manufacturers may at any time take the place of free competition, lifting prices to an artificial level, or holding them there, to the pecuniary benefit of the manufacturer, but not of the wage-earner, and not at all of the public on whose behalf laws are supposed to be made. At such periods, therefore, and I think this is one of them, the existing application of the protective system should come up for searching review and a timely readjustment. An intelligent tariff scheme, while true to its underlying principle, must also be supple, flexibly responsive to the pressure of varying public needs, not rigid and unyielding, like an iron fence maintained by stone posts. If it cannot bend itself to differing circumstances it becomes merely a stiff fetter on invention as well as trade, unfriendly to normal elasticity of enterprise.

"I have always hitherto understood this to be the conviction of the Republican party. It has certainly been expressed a good many times in the platforms and the action of that party; and unless this is now and hereafter to be its policy, I see not how it can fairly claim to be friendly, not only to specific domestic manufacturers, but to general industrial development in the country, and to that magnificent interest of international commerce which has to do with the welfare of the world. But if a tariff is ever to need readjustment, it seems to me that ours now does. It was adopted primarily as a war measure, more than a score of years ago. Under the policy which had preceded it, which had imposed far lower taxes on imports, the part of the nation which was chiefly benefited had grown rich and powerful, ready to confront and strong to subdue a tremendous rebellion. The war tariff was, no doubt, expedient in its time; but I see not why we should go on with it indefinitely, any more than why a soldier of the war should still carry his musket to workshop or field, or an officer of artillery insist on tugging a part of his battery to lecture, church, or social party. Our time, of secure peace and of reestablished national unity, seems precisely the time for taking up the matter afresh, and adjusting the tariff to our new and happier conditions.

"If, therefore, the convention at Chicago had pronounced with emphasis in favor of the principle of a protective tariff, but also in favor of a careful revision of the one now established, I should have gone with it in equal step, and with glad accord. But when it simply accepts in bulk the existing tariff and looks to making some of its provisions still more exacting, and to taking off the internal tax on whiskey in a possible contingency in order to do this, I pause, not convinced of either the wisdom or the justice of the plan.

"At the same time, however, in view of the majestic history of the party, its noble achievements, and its faithfulness to fundamental national interests when they have been terrifically imperiled, I wait to see if such a revision of the tariff as appears to me demanded — made by those friendly to the principle of protection, and seeking to maintain this by equitably applying

it — will not be accepted by the party as a near and an imperative duty. If it shall not be, I can only say that I have greatly overrated both the general sagacity of the party and the trained instinct of statesmanship in its leaders, or else have greatly underrated the pressure upon it from monopolies and "trusts." That such a revision of the tariff is sure to come, either through the Republican party or against it and over it, I have no manner of doubt. My hope still is that it is to come through that, the mass of the voters being wiser than the platform, and the party which saved the nation twenty-five years ago showing still the capacity to advance and to guide it to the amplest prosperity. One can't make the day warmer, as Mr. Phillips used to say, "by boiling the thermometer." But if the controlling life of the party is as vigorous and fervent as I think it to be, the coolness of the thermometer hung up at Chicago will not finally chill it.

"The platform certainly appears to me defective and erroneous, quite out of line with the best previous historical utterances in the name of the party. To an outsider, it looks as if over-ingeniously constructed, to antagonize the competing party, and attract more numerous votes. At the same time practical results are the important things in politics; and amid the currents and counter-currents of trade and politics swirling around us, remembering that platforms exercise no despotie control over the intelligent life of a party, I am still earnestly disposed to feel that the national welfare will be more likely to be advanced, on the lines which commend themselves to me, if the Republican candidates shall be elected in November. To stand thus, in independence of one's own party while not joining the other, is a situation which has disadvantages; but it has also its own freedom of outlook, its pleasant sense of relationship to other minds holding substantially a similar position, perhaps its own opportunities of good influence."

It is important to notice that "Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular," one of the most able trade journals published by the liquor interest, quotes the text of the Boutelle resolution in the Republican platform, and makes this comment: "And, pray, who withholds indorsement from such propositions as these? In behalf of the wine and spirit trade, we hereby accord this declaration our unreserved approval. The man who would do otherwise would be very apt to contend that two and two do not make four." The "Circular" thinks that it was a blunder to adopt in the same platform the "temperance and morality plank," and the declaration in favor of free whiskey, because it is "apparently a straddle," but it says, "as a matter of fact, the two declarations are in perfect harmony, for there is no one measure that would do so much to promote temperance and sobriety as to abolish all taxes on whiskey."

Miss Frances E. Willard of Evanston, Ill., president, and Mrs. May Wright Sewall of Indianapolis, Ind., corresponding secretary, of the National Council that was organized in Washington, D. C., as the outcome of

the great council of women held there last spring, are laying the foundations of a new and extensive organization. Its purpose is to secure in every leading city and town of the United States a "Woman's Council," made up of the presidents of all societies of women, having headquarters of its own, with an office secretary, and entering upon such lines of work as all the women can agree upon. It is believed that such a plan of united action, combined with the organic independence of each society, will do away with the overlapping of fields that now leads to so much waste of time and energy; also that it will broaden the horizon of every woman who belongs to an organized society of women, and lead to larger mutual toleration between guilds, heretofore separate and to a large degree non-sympathetic. As an illustration of the practical working of the plan, it may be stated that such a council of women could readily arrange for petitions from all societies of women in any given town or city asking that women should be placed upon the school board, upon the different boards intrusted with the care of public institutions for the defective, delinquent, and dependent classes; asking for the admission of women to local, county, state, and national organizations, such as press associations, medical associations, and ecclesiastical associations; asking that the doors of such schools and colleges as are not yet open to women might be thrown wide open for their admission; asking for better protection for the home, and heavier penalties for all crimes against women and girls. It will be readily seen that greatly added force will come from any such movement, whether local, state, or national, when it is backed up by the *united* societies of the locality, State, or nation, and that with a small expenditure of money and time all these societies, while carrying on separately their own separate work for which they were organized, may yet do an immense work for womanhood at large along the lines on which all can agree to unite in sympathy, influence, and effort. To carry out such plans and on so large a scale will require time, but there is every reason to believe from the experience and success of the women who have taken up this work that they will persist in a quiet but intelligent endeavor, having in view the ends here stated until success shall crown their great but practicable movement.

The Massachusetts legislature has passed, and the governor has approved, the following Act to extend greatly needed legal protection to girls and women:—

AN ACT TO PUNISH THE SENDING OF WOMEN AND GIRLS TO HOUSES OF ILL-FAME AND THEIR DETENTION THEREIN.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:—

SECT. 1. Whoever, either for himself or herself or as agent or employee of another person, knowingly sends, or aids or abets in sending, any woman or girl to enter as an inmate or a servant, any house of ill-fame or other place resorted to for the purpose of prostitution, shall for each offense be punished by fine of not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the house of correction or the jail for not less than three months nor more than two years. Whoever as proprietor or keeper of an intelligence or employment

office, either personally or through an agent or employee, sends any woman or girl to enter as aforesaid any house of ill-fame or other place resorted to for the purpose of prostitution, the character of which could have been ascertained by him on reasonable inquiry, shall for each offense be punished by fine of not less than fifty nor more than two hundred dollars.

SECT. 2. Any person who, for any length of time whatsoever, unlawfully detains or attempts to detain, or aids or abets in unlawfully detaining or attempting to detain, or administers or aids or abets in administering any drug for the purpose of detaining any woman or girl in any house of ill-fame or other place resorted to for the purpose of prostitution, shall for each offense be punished by fine of not less than one hundred, nor more than five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the house of correction not less than one year, nor more than three years, or in the state prison not more than five years.

SECT. 8. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved May 9, 1888.

The Rev. Dr. Pierson of Philadelphia and the Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon of Boston, whose addresses at the World's Missionary Conference at London in June made a profound impression, have been speaking in Scotland on the progress and needs of missions. Four great meetings were held in Edinburgh, and by vote of the audiences the two speakers were requested to go through Scotland stirring up the churches on this subject.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. II. — SEPTEMBER, 1888. — No. 9.

THE NEW THEOLOGY AND MISSIONS.

A FULL year since the meeting of the American Board in Springfield has passed, and has given the thoughtful friends of missions opportunity to notice the progress and trend of the New Theology, and its probable or necessary bearing upon missions. The newspaper jangle is quieter. The "Boston Advertiser" is more interested in the presidential election than in theology just for the present, and Unitarian and Universalist papers are serenely waiting for the developments which must surely come. In this confidence they can possess their souls in patience.

The ordination and dismissal of ministers, the public advocacy of advanced views, and the open avowal in the pulpit of beliefs so little differing from Universalist and Unitarian positions that the people in general will never find the difference, and the increasing number of those who are indifferent to creeds and dogmas and who care little as to what views are advocated from the pulpit or held in theological seminaries, all combine to show the thoughtful man that a new era with clouded aspect has dawned upon the church. We may hail this change as fraught with ultimate good.

Hitherto one error, the least of all, the one most easily stated in a form that hardly admits of a strong protest, has been sagaciously set forth and unwisely admitted as the one chief

characteristic of the new party. A few voices have pointed out this great mistake, but the general mind is still held in the entanglement of a crafty snare. It is the assertion that the chief variation of the Andover party from accepted orthodoxy is the dogma of an unlimited probation. This is the very least of their vagaries. It admits of so many forms and statements that one cannot grapple with it. It is only a possibility, a hypothesis, a working hypothesis, it is confessedly not in the Bible, but it is a hope, a larger hope, and so on through many shades of variation. But, again, it becomes a dogma. It is necessary to vindicate the impartial justice of God. He must give to every man an equally fair chance. Those who do not receive this as an unquestioned truth are scornfully designated as the slaves of a traditional theology. This protean dogma of probation, as held by some, is sufficiently dangerous. In certain of its forms, indeed, it is far more dangerous than any heresy of the Roman Catholic Church. But the most dangerous and soul-blighting principle of the New Theology is its doctrine of the Bible.

The movement called the New Departure does not acknowledge the Bible as an infallible revelation given by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, the Bible is regarded as a collection of books wrought out in different ages, badly fitted together, full of boorishness, errors, and absurdities. It is kindly admitted that there are great truths in it, and that these are inspired, as is all high moral thinking. But the reader must find out for himself what is true in the Bible, and thus it becomes his own truth, received on his own authority, and he then calls that the truth of God. He has prospected for it. He has dug it up from the rubbish that inclosed and concealed it. He has smelted it in the crucible of his own consciousness or personal judgment, and it is as much his own as the gold of the California miner is his. Both may very piously acknowledge a supreme author, but in that general way that is consistent with supreme selfishness and worldliness.

The Bible, as the New Theology uses it, is of some incidental value, and that is all. The "higher criticism" has tried, with poor success, to make out its early books as forgeries. The

whole Mosaic ritual, the tabernacle, the tabernacle service were the priestly inventions of a later age, after the exile to Babylon and the return. The Pentateuch is the greatest and the most successful forgery ever known. That, being a forgery, these books could be received by the Jews as genuine is such an absurdity that no one not misled by pet theories can possibly believe it. The "higher criticism" in this bold attempt has dropped to the level of all unbelief, although it occupies a high place at Andover. Its claims have been so portentous, and its spirit so arrogant, and its defeats so numerous, that the very term "higher criticism" has fallen into line with all other infidel forces and literatures. But it is the hope of Andover. It is its commissariat. Its supplies would fail without it.

This treatment of the word of God is the most dangerous feature of the New Theology. It gives to every man as much or as little of the Bible as his "rational consciousness" or his "ethical judgment" shall approve. The Bible in itself becomes a book of no authority. It becomes a foot-ball for "the higher criticism." What the result must be to religion may be seen in the condition of the Protestant church and clergy in Germany. A refined and selfish religion is maintained among the higher classes, but it has no power over the masses. Anarchism and socialism take possession of them, and a powerful army and a despotic ruler become a necessity. Take the Bible from the pulpit, and the people will rush to the beer garden and get their moral education, their religion, there.

Another fatal error of the New Theology relates to the atoning work and character of Christ.

There is an eloquent exaltation of Him as the source of all spiritual life and a most illogical degradation of Him as a fallible mortal, ignorant of the sacred Scriptures. He did not even know who wrote the Pentateuch. It follows that his written word is of little authority. It is the indwelling Christ that raises every one who receives Him above the written word. This is nothing else but that inner light which has so often troubled the church. Andover claims that the favored soul has in itself a light altogether superior to any written words of Christ.

But beyond this it claims for Him a relation to the race, and to every individual of the race by which the offer of salvation is secured to every man alike, if not in this life then in another. The atonement disappears except as used in a deceptive phraseology. It is not Christ instead of the sinner appearing before God as a suffering and atoning mediator. It is the race with Christ in it appearing before God. There is, therefore, now no condemnation to any one. The heathen are not under condemnation. If they are not in Christ, Christ is in them, and it is only by positively rejecting Him, when He is clearly made known to them, that they can be lost. Every man, therefore, will sometime, somewhere, be made to know Him. Then, and then only, can he repent. Then only can he be called on to repent. The preaching of repentance to unbelievers is illogical. This is not in the Bible, but it is in the New Theology. Untold millions of heathen have died or are dying without this knowledge of Christ. They could not repent in this life. Their chance is beyond. The true missionary field for Andover is Hades. The American Board has no organization to work in that field as have the Roman and Oriental churches. The New Theology should have at least a prudential committee of its own to consider the condition of the souls in Hades, and have a monthly concert of prayer for them, if nothing more. In the above-named churches they are prayed for daily, and vast sums of money are spent for them.

In this view of the Scriptures, of man, and of Christ, it is evident that the decalogue, the Sabbath, confessions of faith, creeds, fall out of place and become of little or no importance.

We are rapidly getting the German Sabbath. There will follow the socialism and anarchism which curse Europe, and are the natural product of the overthrow of the Bible and the Sabbath. A lax public morality becomes inevitable. It is this which makes it possible for Andover to violate a sacred trust without exciting the withering indignation of the Christian public. As creeds become of no value, and every man must manufacture his truth in his "Christian consciousness," any one can be ordained over a Congregational church by a Congregational council. The candidate and the church having come to

an agreement, the majority of a Congregational council, here in New England, will ordain him, with little regard to the doctrines he preaches or declines to preach.

Our question now is, What effect will this new system have upon the missionary work, so far as it shall prevail?

The missionary field is double — the home field as the source of supplies, and the foreign field where the work is done.

In the home field there will be a necessary disintegration of the Congregational body. Young men who study for the ministry will naturally choose some church whose bond of union is not a rope of sand. Or they will not enter the ministry at all. This result is already seen. Andover, by its great history and its prestige, should lead all similar institutions in the number of its students. It has about the same number as Bangor and Hartford. There can be nothing attractive in the Congregational ministry when it has lost all positive character and is no longer a body with any organic force. The Unitarian body has nearly "petered out" from the same cause. The New Theology is on that track. So far as it shall prevail, the present supporters of our missions will be dispersed and lost.

But if this result should be slow in coming, there is another that is inevitable. The New Theology will soon cease to feel any interest in missions. Just now it has powerful motives for great enthusiasm. That is the only way of riding into power. But this cannot last. There is no good reason for sending the gospel to the heathen. They are not under condemnation. They cannot repent. They will have a fair chance in Hades. Why should we trouble ourselves about them? We may imperil their better chance in another life. Will this faith unloose the grip of avarice or lead to heroic self-denial in providing the funds for a great and doubtful work?

Or, if we take the Laodicean view of indifference, and tolerate all forms and systems and creeds, or absence of creeds, which is becoming more popular than definite belief, we shall still lose all that enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice which a work so vast and so difficult demands.

But we will suppose that the New Theology enters the mission fields abroad. It will find there a great work of reconstruction

to perform. The old missionaries have invariably taught the people and the churches gathered that the Bible is the Word of God; that its authority is absolutely decisive on all points of faith and practice; that, admitting the necessary imperfections of the human element, language, and of translation and transmission, we still have in the Word of God infallible truth, clearly stated, the only guide to salvation. With this positive view, they have met and vanquished the hosts of error and planted the standard of the cross, with heroic endurance, in Mohammedan, Oriental, and heathen lands.

Andover enters the field, and says that this is all "traditional stuff." The Bible is not a revelation. It is full of errors. The infallibility of Paul, or of any other writer, is a "question that may be dismissed as of no practical importance." The native churches will immediately split into two parties, one maintaining the supreme authority of the Bible, the other the supreme authority of our own judgment.

The Oriental and Catholic churches join with the latter, only saying, you must admit the consensus of Christian judgment as expressed in the church, and you are one with us. What becomes of the missionary work in the conversion of men under such treatment? A house divided against itself cannot stand.

In the missionary work, as now conducted, the Sabbath is the Lord's day. It is kept sacred. The authority of the Old Testament, its powerful commands, threatenings, promises, with relation to the Sabbath are transferred to the Lord's day in all their spiritual import. The keeping of the day is the dividing line between the disciples of Christ and the world. It marks a new faith and a new civilization. It is the day of the family. It constitutes, for the first time, a Christian household, with prayer and praise; a common table for all, parents and children, the study of one book, — the Bible, — and thus a new domestic life and a new education are begun. On this basis of the Christian household stand the church of Christ and the new advancing civilization. Destroy the sacredness and divine authority of the Sabbath, and you have abolished the missionary work absolutely and entirely.

Andover enters with lofty scorn of this Puritanic Sabbath.

It is Judaic. It is an Old Testament day, and the decalogue itself has no authority, except the authority of such truth as we may find in it. The German Sabbath, hilarious, social, jovial, feasting, beer-drinking, takes the place of the old ascetic day. There is church in the morning, for the few who care to go, and the social amenities of the day are delightful. In the evening, the theatre or the wine-shop are chosen by the multitude. The mission work finds here another broad dividing space. The two systems cannot work together. They are not agreed.

We must refer to the view of the atonement taught in all the missions of the American Board. Christ, our vicarious high priest, offers himself as a sacrifice for sin. "For He made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."

The whole world is under condemnation, and is called upon to repent of sin and believe in Christ, as the conditions of salvation. But the missionary direct from Andover teaches another gospel. Man is not under condemnation. The race stands accepted before God, having Christ in it by his incarnation. No man is lost, or can be lost, until he has known and rejected Christ. The older missionaries reject this as another gospel. It is the message, "Thou shalt not surely die." Again the native church divides. Romanists and Orientals turn to their churches with renewed confidence, in some cases; with despair in others. The dawning hope of the call to repentance and faith, as destined to be heard and accepted by the nations, dies away.

The young missionary at length sees that his new theology works wrath rather than righteousness, and turns to education and to whatever promotes civilization. He ere long becomes disgusted with the stupidity of the people in clinging to their past. Some mighty force must rouse them, renew them, transform them, or they will not move out of the old ruts.

The man who is renewed in the spirit and temper of his mind has entered upon a path of endless progress. He easily and naturally falls into the mould of Christian civilization represented by his teachers. Nothing has been more surprising than the civilizing power of Christian missions. The Fiji

Islanders, in one generation, turned from cannibalism and utmost inhumanity and cruelty to a kind, honest, Christian people. From all their humble dwellings the voice of prayer and praise is heard morning and evening. And a commerce has sprung up, the annual profit of which exceeds the entire cost of their Christianization. It was preaching salvation through the blood of the Cross that reached their hearts. The preaching of Paul and the other apostles, calling to repentance and faith as the only way of escaping from the condemnation which every sinner is under, has been the preaching of all successful missionaries. The justice and the love of God are inseparable. The command still remains: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." (Mark xvi. 15, 16.)

The New Theology destroys the foundation of the missionary work in every soul that accepts it. It is an old system of error with a new name. What it has always done it will continue to do. If it should prevail in the Congregational body, those who have Biblical convictions, and stand firm by gospel truth, will gravitate to those bodies — Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist — which maintain their evangelic faith.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

Lexington, Mass., August 23, 1888.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND THE BALLOT.

THERE is no political question now before the people of this country so important to its prosperity as the suppression of the liquor traffic. It exists by permission of the law; it can be suppressed only by law. To obtain this, votes in Congress and in our legislatures are necessary, and to have these, there is no other way known to us than by the votes of the people. Do the majority of them demand protection from the saloons? There can be no effective, authoritative answer to that question except through the ballot-box, and that answer it is proposed to obtain by a political party organized only for that purpose. In this country active work in the temperance cause has been carried on upon a large scale for more than sixty years with the result that the volume of the liquor traffic has increased within that time four times faster than the population, and there is no reason to doubt that in the future the same rate of increase will be maintained, unless the traffic be suppressed by the strong hand. Ought this to be done? Shall it be done? Why should it be done?

In the autumn of 1882 the New York "Tribune" contained an editorial which I place on record here, to show the inconsistency of that journal's present defense of High License.

SIZE OF THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

It does no good for men to sneer at the agitation in regard to the liquor traffic. The subject is too important to be laughed down. It may be that prohibition is not the right way to settle it, or that license is not, or that taxation is not; these are fair questions upon which a difference of opinion between sincere and candid men is possible. But the subject has become altogether too important to be ignored, or passed over without any serious attempt to settle it. Aside from the law-defying spirit which it has elicited, aside from all its moral and religious aspects, the question, considered purely as one of dollars

and cents in its effect upon the national prosperity and wealth, is one of the most important that can be named.

Directly and indirectly this country spends in the liquor traffic every year a sum exceeding half the national debt. The cost of that traffic to the country, direct and indirect, is greater than the profits of all its capital not invested in real estate. It costs every year more than our whole civil service, our army, our navy, our Congress, including the River and Harbor and Pension bills, our wasteful local governments, and all national, state, county, and local debts, beside all the schools in the country. In fact, this nation pays more for liquor than for every function of every kind of government. How is a question of that size to be put aside with a sneer?

A glass of beer costs the consumer five cents, and there are at least twenty in the gallon and 640 in the barrel, so that beer retails at about \$32.00 a barrel, while ale costs still more. The consumption of beer and ale last year was about 15,000,000 barrels; cost to consumers about \$480,000,000. The cheapest kind of liquor used, ordinary whiskey, is rarely sold at five cents, and averages at least seven cents a drink; at half a gill to the "horn," this makes \$4.80 a gallon. The consumption last year was about 70,000,000 gallons; cost to consumers about \$313,000,000. Adding wines, there is certainly spent annually for drink more than \$800,000,000, and the entire sum raised by taxes of all kinds, national, state, county, city, town, and school district, is stated on authority of the Census Bureau to be not more than \$700,000,000.

But the cost of the liquor drunk is not by any means the whole cost of the liquor traffic. An official report prepared with much labor by the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts, under authority from the legislature, states that eighty-four per cent. of all the crime and criminal expenses in that State comes directly from the abuse of liquor. There are, at least, one in twenty of the able-bodied men of this country who are rendered idle by their habits or incapacitated for work, and these persons, at the ordinary wages of workmen, would earn, if industrious and fairly employed, over \$200,000,000 yearly. The proportion of persons in hospitals who reach them because of excess in drink is very large, but cannot be definitely ascertained.¹

A traffic that costs in actual payment and in loss of productive labor

¹ Dr. Clark of London, physician in ordinary to the Queen, stated in a public lecture in Exeter Hall, that from personal investigation he had found that eighty-five of every hundred patients in the public hospitals were there because of drink only.

more than half the national debt every year, is not to be ignored by the economist. It may be assumed that the entire wealth of the country has risen from \$30,000,000,000 in 1870 to \$50,000,000,000 in 1880, about one half being in real estate. Probably it does not average profits exceeding four per cent. yearly, taking bad investments with good, but at that rate the yearly interest on all personal property of all kinds is only \$1,000,000,000, and the direct or indirect cost of the liquor traffic must be greater.

But the time has gone by in this country when a serious discussion of a question that involves such a vast expense to the nation can be prevented by bullying, intolerance, insolence, and ridicule. This very practical people, having begun to think about the matter in earnest, perceives that it is much too important to be put aside at the dictation of saloon keepers. It is certain that the entire savings of the people and all additions to their wealth are not twice as much as the sum expended for liquor and because of the abuse of liquor. If any just and reasonable proposition can be made that will add one half to the savings and prosperity of the nation, it will not be put down by a sneer, nor defeated by a law-breaking mob.¹

The "Tribune" of March 2, 1884, had this editorial:—

THE QUESTION OF THE AGE.

It has been said that the end and the test of good government is the greatest happiness of the greatest number. If this be true it must be owned that no government extant is satisfactorily conducted. For observation shows that as a rule political energy is expended on secondary concerns, while politicians employ all their dexterity in avoiding action upon the great problems which most deeply involve the destinies of the masses. There is to-day in the English-speaking countries, no such tremendous, far-reaching, vital question as that of drunkenness. In its implications and effects it overshadows all else. It is impossible to examine any subject connected with the progress, the civilization, the physical well-being, the religious condition of the masses without encountering this monstrous evil. It lies at the centre of all social and political mischief. It paralyzes beneficent energies in every direction. It neutralizes educational agencies. It silences the voice of religion. It baffles penal reform. It obstructs political reform. It rears aloft a mass of evilly-inspired power which at every salient point threatens social and national advance; which gives to ignorance and vice a greater potency than intelligence and virtue can command; which de-

¹ The drink bill of 1884 was \$930,000,000.

prives the poor of the advantages of modern progress ; which debauches and degrades millions, brutalizing and soddening them below the plane of healthy savagery, and filling the centres of population with creatures whose condition almost excuses the immorality which renders them dangerous to their generation.

All these evils, all this mischief, all this destruction of human souls and intellects, go on among us daily and hourly. There are none so ignorant or inattentive as not to have personal experience of some of them ; some hearth darkened ; some family scattered ; some loving heart broken ; some promising career ruined ; some deed of shame done. Yet how hard it is to get this gigantic evil attacked seriously. Temperance organizations have indeed been fighting it for years, yet popular inertia has resisted their utmost efforts. But has all been done that might and should have been done by the organized agencies that represent the higher life ? What are doctrinal points, for example, compared to this ever-present, ever-active, insidious influence ? What are sectarian differences by the side of this national curse ? Can the churches fold their hands and flatter themselves that their duties are fulfilled, while the masses prefer the saloon to the pulpit, and while rum rules in politics and society ? Are the higher educational agencies doing all in their power to advance civilization while they ignore this obstacle to progress ? Can any political organization be said to represent the best aspirations and the strongest needs of the people, while this abiding source of misery, and crime, and poverty is allowed to spread and flourish ?

There is needed something of that sacred fire which kindled into inextinguishable heat the zeal of the abolitionists, and which compelled the abandonment of human slavery, to rouse the national indignation and abhorrence against this very much greater evil. Nothing short of this, it is to be feared, will impel time-serving politicians to approach in a spirit of earnestness a subject which is distasteful to them mainly because they think they cannot afford to do without the help and support of the class who derive from the degradation of the foolish and ignorant the means whereby they continue to rule and plunder those whose sagacity is proof against their snares.

The "Tribune" of March 25, 1884, contained the following editorial : —

PROTECTION AND RESPECT FOR RUMSELLING.

A few days ago an organization of liquor dealers in this State formulated resolutions in which they declared that the business in which

they are engaged is "legitimate," and "entitled to the protection and respect" of the community. Long habit doubtless blunts perception. The soap boiler cannot smell the stench which pervades his own works. The dealer in hides comes to think his wares sweet and inoffensive; and so it is possible that those whose business it is to sell poison to the public, and who witness hourly the disastrous effects of their trade, may think it is deserving of respect. But the public can make no such mistake. A trade which flourishes upon the ruin of its supporters, which derives its revenues from the plunder of homes and from the defrauding of helpless childhood, and from the degradation of manhood; which requires for its prosperity the injury of the community; which ministers to every vile and vicious passion and propensity; which makes drunkards, and thieves, and embezzlers, and gamblers, and wife-beaters, and murderers; which brutalizes and degrades all who are brought into contact with it, — cannot claim the respect, and assuredly ought not to be able to claim the encouragement of the community.

It indeed indicates the extent of the prevalent demoralization that a business so inherently infamous, so unquestionably against public policy, should have been permitted to establish itself so firmly that those who pursue it are convinced not only that it is legitimate, but that it is "entitled to protection and respect." But upon what ground do these bold claims rest? What constitutes a legitimate, respectable business? Is a business which debauches, impoverishes, injures the public either the one or the other? When such questions have to be asked it is time that they were settled definitely. At present rum-selling is technically legitimate, that is to say, it is not unlawful. But since its consequences are what we see, it would be an abuse of language to term it respectable.

But it does not stop at these insolent pretensions. It tells the people that it has great political power; that it is organized, and that it will fight reform and temperance with the votes of the unfortunates it has imbruted. This then is what the community has to face. It must either submit to the political supremacy of the rumsellers; it must either accept their government; it must either bow to their standard of morals and declare them to be entitled "to protection and respect"; or it must make up its mind to a conflict, the aim and end of which shall be the overthrow of the abominable abuse and the protection of the masses against the worst foe of civilization.

They will oppose any reform whatever. They deny the right of the people to protect themselves at all. They claim the right for them-

selves to poison and brutalize and degrade all whom they can reach. They think they will be supported in this by the public they fleece and injure, and upon the persistence of whose animal appetites they coarsely calculate. Hitherto they have unhappily been "justified" in this dependence. The men who had most cause to loath the business have been among the first to uphold and fortify it. But a change is even now passing over public opinion. It is becoming more and more generally recognized that intemperance is at the bottom of two thirds of the social, moral, and political evils that retard progress and perplex and harass the legislator. It is being comprehended that an effective and safe franchise requires sobriety and intelligence in the voter. In fact it is being realized that the future of the country depends largely upon mastering the elements which have their origin and derive all their strength from rum, and which militate at every turn against good government, pure social condition, religion, and progress.

I make no apology for borrowing so largely from the timely deliverances of the "Tribune" upon the evils of the drink-traffic. No more valuable contributions than these to prohibition literature have ever been made in any quarter. They are especially important and significant, coming as they do from that great and influential paper which stands at the head of American journalism for the eminent ability with which it treats all questions of public policy and for its independence and fairness in all matters not connected with party politics. It justly denounces the liquor traffic as being inconsistent with the common good; as being in deadly hostility to every public and social interest, and calls upon all good men, irrespective of party or creed, to combine somehow in a great effort to deliver the nation from this tremendous mischief, this "gigantic crime of crimes." It wastes and destroys the wealth of the nation, it absorbs a large share of the wages of labor and of the profits of all legitimate industry; it is the direct cause of more than one third of all the idiocy and of three fifths of all the insanity of the country, and kills by methods direct and indirect more than fifty thousand of our people annually. With all this, it earns nothing; it adds not a penny to the sum of national wealth; while it spreads poverty, pauperism, wretchedness, and crime broadcast over the land. The enormous wealth of the brewers, distillers, and liquor dealers comes from the hard earnings of working people,

whose families suffer from cold and hunger for want of the wages, which go into the tills of the unscrupulous men who for money destroy their fellows body and soul. But for the liquor traffic we should need few workhouses, jails, and penitentiaries, and the costs of police, and of all courts would be largely reduced.

Judge Martin of Kansas says of this devilish trade : " I cannot conceive of any business more thoroughly demoralizing in its tendencies and effects, or more destructive of public morals, public order, and public decency than the business of selling intoxicating liquors. I cannot see a solitary benefit or advantage to be derived from it by a single human being. I cannot imagine a benefit or blessing of any kind that it brings or contributes to the welfare of the community. It brings moral and social death to those engaged in it, as well as to those who patronize and sustain it. To engage in such a business is deliberately to crush and banish from the heart forever every sentiment, every hope, every ambition, and every element of character that men generally value as being useful and beneficial to the world. It blights and destroys men's intellectual powers, and thus it makes men insane, idiots, and imbeciles. It deadens every sentiment of morality, decency, and honor, and thus men become debauched, corrupt, vicious, and dishonest and destitute of all sense of shame, and of every obligation of citizenship. It begets recklessness, carelessness, and utter indifference to and disregard of the rights, the interests, and happiness of others. It invites, encourages, and develops that which is base, degrading, and dangerous in men, and destructive of good government, good order, and common decency. It is a nursery of the development and growth of those wicked practices which lead to the crimes of gambling, theft, robbery, arson, perjury, murder, and every sort of public crime, social wrong, and private indecency. In other words, it is a school for the development and cultivation of every species of crime, and an institution for the preparation of men, women, and children for the gutter, the poor-house, the insane asylum, the reform schools, the jails, the penitentiaries, and the gallows."

My purpose is to show that the liquor traffic has no claim whatever to toleration by society, and that self-preservation de-

mands that it be driven out by the strong hand and trampled under the iron heel. This is to be done only by law, it cannot be done in any other way. This is to be effected only through our legislatures and our Congress by men sent there by the constituencies for that purpose; and this can be done in no other way than by such an awakening of men's consciences and such an enlightenment of public opinion as will induce intelligent men, good men, patriots, those who love and fear God, and so desire the welfare and happiness of their kind, as to be ready and willing to make sacrifices to accomplish it. This evil is so enormous, so far-reaching, so strongly entrenched in law, in habit, in long-continued custom, in men's interests, appetites, and passions, and most of all, so strongly protected — as by an impregnable wall — behind the stolid inertia of the church, that a special, concentrated movement for its overthrow and destruction is indispensable.

The Prohibition party has been organized to meet this imperative need. The men and women who are in it — calling upon all good men and women to help — undertake in political matters to ignore for the moment all public questions of minor importance, and to work earnestly for this, until it shall be accomplished; to wit: the utter destruction of a trade, a system, a policy which wages deadly war upon every interest of nation, state, and people; to deliver our civilization, our religion, our homes from a tyranny, a source of demoralization, degradation, brutalization, shame, wretchedness, and ruin, far worse than any other that has ever cursed the world.

We do not underestimate the difficulties, the obstructions, the discouragements that lie in our way; and we make no mistake when we recognize the indifference of educated men, leaders of public opinion, and more than all what Canon Wilberforce, at a great meeting in London, called the "abominable indifference of the church," as by far the greatest of these. I met upon the street, the other day, a clergyman whom I greatly honor, for his learning and admirable personal qualities, and for his successful work as a great educator. He stopped me, and with a beaming smile and a cordial hand-shake said, —

"Mr. Dow, I am thoroughly a temperance man and prohi-

bitionist, and in entire sympathy with every movement for the suppression of the liquor traffic, but I do not think the organization of a prohibition political party a wise measure. It will require a long time, I think, to put down the saloons by that method, if indeed it can ever be done in that way."

"My dear sir, I replied, if it shall take us a long time to accomplish the work, as you suggest, the only reason will be that you and such as you do not help. If you and such as you would help, we would have a great victory, to-morrow, without striking a blow." And I address that remark seriously and emphatically to the many thousands of eminent men in church and society, who profess to be good citizens, lovers of God, of their country, and of their kind, who profess to see in the liquor traffic the deadliest enemy of church, state, and human happiness, yet do nothing in the great war now going on against it — except by vote and personal influence to strengthen and uphold it.

I saw the other day, in a campaign circular issued by the Republican league of Minnesota, the following extract from a speech by Dr. Carroll: —

I am not here as a political partisan nor as an opponent of the principle of prohibition. I am a firm believer in prohibition; and would most heartily join you and march under your political banner if I could convince myself that God has reserved to you the task of establishing prohibition in this land. I most heartily respect you, for your cause is the cause of God and humanity, your courage is the courage of heroes, and your devotion, the devotion of martyrs. [Applause.] I am sorry that I cannot add that your wisdom is the equal of your courage and devotion.

I was greatly struck with this deliverance — connecting what Dr. Carroll says here with the part he has deliberately taken in this "fight between heaven and hell," and more particularly from his implied claim to superior wisdom, which we will promptly acknowledge when we see proof of it. Our "cause is the cause of God," and he would gladly march under its banner if he thought it would succeed, but doubting that, his superior wisdom has led him to take the other side and march under the banner of Raster, Schlade, the Liquor Leagues of the West,

and of the California and Milwaukee men who flooded Chicago with wine, liquors, and beer for the inspiration of the members of the late Republican convention, representing a party that is "irrevocably committed to the support, protection, and perpetuation of the liquor traffic." Prohibition, Dr. Carroll acknowledges to be the cause of God. It is also the cause of Christianity, civilization, of humanity, of moral, intellectual, and spiritual life and progress, and preëminently the cause of the church and of the speedier progress of the gospel through the world. The liquor traffic is the antithesis of all this. Beyond all doubt it does more to degrade men, body and soul, to debauch and brutalize them, than all other sources of evil combined. It changes good men, good citizens, good husbands, good fathers into bad ones, and blasts the homes of the people as with fire. It changes steady, industrious workers, good providers for wives and children into stupid, stolid idlers, beggars, tramps, thieves, burglars, incendiaries, murderers. Prohibition has no other purpose than to change all this and to deliver the country from this infernal mischief. But this work can only be accomplished by votes. This liquor system is actually upheld and perpetuated only by votes. Dr. Carroll will not cast his vote on God's side in this tremendous fight with the devil, because he doubts its success; so, with his superior wisdom, he takes service on the other side, and by his vote and with all his influence and with that of the great paper which he controls, his action tends to perpetuate, through all coming time, the liquor traffic, with every form, degree, and shade of evil which that devilish trade includes. On behalf of my fellow-workers in the cause of prohibition, I confess that we are open to the reproach of Dr. Carroll, that we lack that wisdom which leads many men to turn the back upon the "cause of God and Humanity," if to them it seems to be not easily won, and to take service upon the other side with the "heaviest battalions." I know it seems to many men to be a supreme folly to expose one's self to the reproach and contempt of the unco-good. They cannot understand why people who have no expectation, hope, or desire of personal advantage should engage in an unpopular work from mere devotedness to the general welfare.

The necessary limit of this article will not permit me to give the proofs that the Republican party is thoroughly committed, beyond all possibility of retracing its steps, to the support, protection, and perpetuation of the saloons. These proofs are abundant, conclusive, and overwhelming. To be ignorant of them implies small knowledge of the position of the Republican party on this question, of the reasons which have led thousands of us to withdraw from that party, and ignorance of the basis upon which the Prohibition party is founded. It must suffice here to say that Governor Foraker of Ohio said publicly: "The policy of taxation (license) of the liquor traffic is eternal and the Republican party is irrevocably committed to it." The New York "Tribune" said: "Governor Foraker is one of the men entitled to say what the Republican party means." The great Republican paper of the West, the "Commercial Gazette" of Cincinnati, said: "The Republican party has its work to do, and prohibition is not a part of it." The great Republican papers throughout the country, without exception, are in violent antagonism to prohibition, in frequent issues declaring their adhesion to some form of "wise regulation" of the traffic, as a good thing and not a national curse. The New York "Tribune" has recently, in its article "Force no Remedy," committed itself and the party to a deadly opposition to prohibition and to the advocacy of the "eternal policy" of licensing the "gigantic crime of crimes."

The great issues between the Republican and Democratic parties is this and nothing more: a strife for the offices. The talk about the tariff is of infinite insignificance in its relation to the public good when compared with this: Deliverance to our People and our Homes from the tremendous curse of the saloons.

In the New York "Independent" of August 2d is a long double-leaded article from Dr. Storrs upon the political situation, leading to the conclusion that he will vote the Republican ticket though much dissatisfied with the position of the party upon every topic treated in its platform. This seems to be "owing, no doubt, to the momentum of habit," as the doctor puts it, "and the difficulty of breaking away from a party which

has formerly proved faithful to public interests in critical times." The doctor says: "It becomes increasingly probable that I shall again vote the Republican ticket. . . . That seems the conclusion toward which my mind drifts in the shadow and shine of the neighboring woods, with their pillared stems and open spaces."

Dr. Storrs seems to ignore entirely the great struggle now going on in the country to throw off the tyranny of the saloons by which the Republican and Democratic parties are now absolutely controlled. His letter is almost entirely taken up with the discussion of the policy of protection to our own industries, upon which Republican and Democratic politicians spend all their energies in the present canvass. This critic seems not to know that all this is really a sham and a blind on their part; or as Dr. Ward puts it: "The platform of the Republican party, with which I have always voted, attempts to befog and befool the public, asserting that there is a great issue of protection and free trade before the country, when . . . there is no such issue. Both parties are compelled to give us a very large amount of protection. . . . I consider the present political issue between the two great parties a dishonest one, made up to deceive the people, the dishonesty being principally on the Republican side."

There is no intelligent man in the country, I think, who is tolerably well-informed upon the present political situation, who does not know that the real question at issue between the two parties is this and nothing more: Whether the Democrats, lately so "hungry and thirsty," shall keep their places at the public feeding-trough, or whether the Republicans, now in their turn hungry and thirsty, shall displace them. All the talk of those partisans about other matters is only "to befog and befool the people." He must be ignorant of public matters who does not know that no measure can now pass into law which tends seriously to injure our industries.

If Dr. Storrs had made a pilgrimage with a policeman through the slums and gutters of New York and Brooklyn, and instead of "the shadow and shine of the neighboring woods with their pillared stems and open spaces" (which seem to

have so pleased his fancy as almost to take him out of this practical world), had beheld there the swarms of men and women and children being "driven to hell like sheep" by the saloons — as John Wesley put it — laying the foundations of their fortunes in the blood of the people for whom Christ died, "their eyes not pitying or sparing" the poor miserable wretches, the helpless victims of their devilish trade, perhaps the thought might have occurred to him, that it was his duty to find out whether his vote and his influence could in some way antagonize all those horrors, instead of being so directed as to uphold and perpetuate them. Dr. Storrs has not a word to say, not a thought to spend upon this stupendous question: the protection of the people's homes from the blight and destruction of the liquor traffic, but occupies more than five columns with what he calls an issue, which in fact is no issue, but a trick of the politicians "to befog, befool, and deceive the people."

Dr. Storrs purposes to cast his vote so that, to the full extent of its power and influence, the grog-shops and their horrors shall be fastened upon the country through all coming time. "The Republican party is irrevocably committed" to that policy. In the coming election, every intelligent man ought to know that the question of policies and not of candidates should be held paramount. The Republican party cannot, if it would, emancipate itself from the thralldom of the saloons; and constituted as it now is, it is impossible for it even to make an attempt in that direction and live. Mr. Blaine, in reply to a question of Rev. Dr. Bashford of Buffalo, said: "The Republican party cannot win without the rum-vote, — nor can it do so without the temperance vote." We do not need this statement of Mr. Blaine to assure us of that fact. The Republican party cannot win without cheating one or the other of these wings of it. The rum-wing it cannot cheat, and the attempt in the other direction was evident in its famous "temperance plank," which was like a farmer's method of catching the old horse in the pasture, when he has on hand a job of work for him to do. He shakes a wooden measure, which the poor beast is silly enough to suppose contains oats, and before he finds out the cheat, the master has him firmly by the foretop and leads him off to the cart or the plow.

The question of the redemption of the country from the dreadful bondage of the saloons is one of supreme importance at the coming election, and ought to be received as such by all thoughtful men. Every year as time passes will find this work more and more difficult to accomplish. We have already an immense mass of "the residuum," as John Bright calls it, all having the ballot, and this tremendous voting power is rapidly recruited from Europe, the whole of it permeated with the opinions and wishes of the great foreign cities as to the saloons and the Sabbath.

I do not understand how it can be that Christian men, seeing this, as they must, having common intelligence, can cast their votes and lend their influence to uphold a party which cannot possibly live without conceding to the liquor traffic its full and bold demand to have complete and assured protection and perpetuation by the law and social recognition by the people, as a useful, respectable, and honorable trade.

The point to which I wish to call special attention is the doctor's hearty indorsement of the Republican endeavors to fasten permanently upon the country the policy of protection, support, and perpetuity to the liquor traffic, that hideous system which year by year and every year inflicts upon the nation and people "greater evils than come from war, pestilence, and famine combined." Dr. Storrs says the Chicago Convention ought to have given "a hearty and unequivocal" indorsement of the efforts made in many States, and made chiefly by Republicans, to limit the sale of intoxicants by imposing high-license fees on those engaged in the business. This is *the* one ethical question surviving in our politics, and presenting itself in the present campaign. The answer to it should not be theoretic, in the clouds, but prompt, practical, and governing, on the line of salutary social regulation."

There is no indication here that the doctor sympathizes in any way with the endeavor to prohibit and suppress the saloons "which drive the people to hell like sheep." On the contrary, he seems to be in full accord with the trade-and-dicker policy of the Republican party, by which, in exchange for money, it proposes to deliver the people to be destroyed, body and soul, for

the profit of the rumsellers. I think I make no mistake in this statement of the policy and fixed purpose of the Republican party, and of the full and cordial sympathy of Dr. Storrs with it. It "is *the* one ethical question surviving in our politics . . . to *limit* the sale of intoxicants by . . . high license." There is no God, no conscience in this; no thought or recognition of right or wrong.

High license does not in the smallest measure "limit" the sale of liquors; to say that it does so, implies total ignorance of the whole matter. There has been long and ample experience of the effect of license of every degree; and everywhere and always, the result of it has been that the demand for liquors has been fully supplied. The talk about limiting the sale of liquors by license is simply a pretense, to catch liquor votes and to lull the conscience which might otherwise revolt against open complicity with wrong. The Methodist bishops say that the liquor traffic "can never be legalized without sin."

A nurse of whom I know permitted in a drunken sleep an infant intrusted to her care to roll from her lap into the fire. Its face was dreadfully and permanently disfigured; its nose and eyebrows destroyed; one hand was left with three fingers and no thumb; the other was left with the thumb but no fingers; the lips were almost gone; the child was made permanently a miserable wreck. A woman of whom I know was forced into the corner of a room, and both eyes were gouged out by the husband in a drunken frenzy. It was licensed rum which caused these horrors. I ask Dr. Storrs in all seriousness whether he would not suggest that a higher fee should be required of rumsellers in such cases, of which there are thousands even worse, if possible, up and down the land, all of them coming from licensed grog-shops. I ask Dr. Storrs whether he will not raise the cry: "Too cheap! too cheap! For such horrors as these, you must pay us more; we cannot afford such dreadful results of your trade at so small a price. For the doctors' bills, at least, you ought to be held responsible. We charge you nothing for a life broken up or destroyed, nothing for the agony of these poor people and their blasted homes."

NEAL DOW.

Portland, Me., September 1, 1888.

THE MISCHIEFS OF MODERATE DRINKING.

A LECTURE BY PROFESSOR G. BUNGE OF THE CHAIR OF PHYSIOLOGICAL CHEMISTRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BASLE, SWITZERLAND. — TRANSLATED BY MRS. MARY B. WILLARD, BERLIN.

THIS lecture which has made its appearance in printed form here in Germany within the past three months seems to me a testimony to the value of our reform work in America from a very unexpected quarter, and I have thought it might be of interest, not only to my fellow workers, but of instruction, as well, in those circles where it is claimed that Germany, with its beer, is the land of sobriety, and that the general use of this beverage will be a real aid to temperance in America. Professor Bunge is a scientific man of eminence, and speaks as one having authority, not always from the same point of view, however, as the English scientists from whom we have been in the habit of receiving our instruction.

It will be seen that he includes beer always in the use of the term "alcoholic beverages" — and that his explanation of some of the physical effects of drinking is somewhat different from the theories common among us. I have endeavored to give the exact meaning of the author, adding nothing thereto and leaving nothing out.

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The alcohol question is chiefly a physiological question, and the physiological knowledge necessary to a correct understanding and answer of it is not yet fully impressed upon the public mind. Allow me then once more to set forth what strict science has given us the right to consider certain regarding this much-discussed subject.

We know that alcohol burns in our bodies. It is in so far a source of vital energy. But it does not follow necessarily at all that it is a nutritive material in our bodies. In order to be such, it must be shown that the vital energy derived from this burning of the alcohol in the system is used in the exercise of a normal function. It is not enough to show that chemical action is transformed into vital energy. The transformation must happen at just the right time and in just the right place — must give to particular parts of the body particular tissue-forming elements and material. We do not know that alcohol burning in the system gives any strength to any muscular fibre, or nerve cell. Our tissues are not so created that every pleasant-tasting substance will feed them. They take from the blood only its nourishing elements. They reject what is foreign and injurious. Some one will say that in this burning of the alcohol in the body there must surely be a gain to vital energy, because of the warmth created thus. But this also cannot be conceded. If alcohol increases the heat income, it increases, on the other

hand, the outgoes of heat, and as the latter overbalance the former, the result is a lowering of the temperature, as is shown by numberless experiments with the thermometer. The giving off of heat comes about in this wise: Alcohol causes an enlargement of the blood-vessels in the skin, in consequence of which more warm blood flows to the cool surface than is natural, and thus the warmth of the blood is given out through the skin. The enlargement of the blood-vessels is explained as follows: Within the walls of these vessels are small, ring-like muscles which are constantly contracting and expanding. The impulse to this contraction proceeds from certain nerve-fibres which connect with these muscles, and which have their common centre in the brain. Alcohol paralyzes this centre, the nerve irritation or action ceases, the muscles are relaxed, the blood-vessels enlarge, and the skin becomes charged with blood, as is seen by the red glow upon it. The flush on the cheeks after wine-drinking, which always indicates this excitement of alcohol, is thus an indication of paralysis somewhere.

The unlearned say also that alcohol warms them in cold weather. This feeling of warmth is a deception; one feels the warm blood rushing unusually to the surface, but the blood is not warmed by the process, only cooled. The deception is perhaps also strengthened by the fact that the brain centre which gives warning of cold is paralyzed or benumbed by the alcohol.

*In general, let it be understood that all the workings of alcohol in the system which usually are considered as excitement or stimulation are only the indications of paralysis.*¹

One indication in particular is the psychical operations. That brain function which is first of all weakened by the incipient paralysis of alcohol is the power of clear judgment, or criticism (*die Kritik*). In consequence the emotions, freed from the governing power of judgment, rule the man. He becomes open-hearted and communicative — careless and courageous — he does not see danger clearly. But above all, the paralyzing power of alcohol shows itself in the fact that every sense of discomfort and of pain is blunted by it — even the sorrows of the heart, — all troubles, all cares, are forgotten. Thence comes the gay mood which follows the social glass. Never, however, will a man become really inspired by drink, the widespread impression to the contrary notwithstanding. This is also a deception practiced on the man himself — it is only another of these symptoms of incipient paralysis, — in the same degree as the power of self-judgment fails, self-complacency increases.

Another symptom of the paralyzing action of alcohol is the lively gesticulations and vain show of strength in which the drinker indulges. The precaution which a sober man instinctively uses to spare himself useless movement is set aside, and with this carelessness comes the quickened pulse, the increased heart action, which passes currently as a sign of the exciting oper-

¹ Read the short and clear statement of this point contained in Schmiedeberg's *First Principles of Pharmacology*. Leipsic. Vogel. 1883. §§ 38 to 41.

ation of alcohol in the system. This increased activity of the heart "is not in any wise due to the action of the alcohol upon the heart itself, but is simply brought on by the situation or occasion in which the spirituous liquor is commonly taken."¹ Take a reasonable man quite alone and give him wine to drink, and one may readily convince himself that the action of the heart is not at all changed. Quite otherwise is it, however, in the social company of drinkers — the judgment is weakened, the man chatters aimlessly, self-control is taken away, he gesticulates wildly, excites himself needlessly, and brings on by his own exertions greater activity of the heart.

The benumbing of all sense of fatigue or weariness belongs also among the tokens of paralysis so commonly attributed to stimulation. It is a deeply-rooted belief that alcohol strengthens the weary to new exertions and efforts. The sense of fatigue is the safety valve of our human organism. Whoever dulls this sense in order to work harder or longer may be likened to the engineer who sits down on the safety valve in order to make better speed with the engine. The error that alcohol strengthens the weary is most fatal in the class to which the largest part of the population belongs. Poor people whose income scarcely holds out for the supply of the barest necessities are led by this mistaken notion to spend a very important part of their wages in drink, rather than in providing plentiful and nourishing food which alone can fit them for hard work. That this idea is almost ineradicable may be seen in the experience of the habitual drinker. He who is once accustomed to a daily amount of alcohol is really capable of greater exertion than he will be if the drink is suddenly withdrawn. It is not necessary to explain this here, it is the same with other poisons. The opium eater cannot work, or eat, or sleep on giving up his drug — he is "strengthened" by opium — but the man who is entirely free from narcotics is the stronger, more capable man.

Better than by any scientific deductions, however, one learns the real uselessness, nay, actual damage even, of moderate drinking, through the thousand experiments made with the army and which go to show, all of them, most conclusively, that *soldiers in peace and in war, in all climates, in heat, rain, and cold, best endure the hardships of their labors and discipline when all kinds of intoxicating drinks are withdrawn from their supplies.* These experiments have been made by the English army in the Kaffir campaigns, in the Ashantee war, in Canada, and in India. The teetotalers in all these campaigns drank nothing stronger than tea and coffee, while the other soldiers were served with moderate rations of grog. They marched with the rest, and endured exactly the same privations, and it was conceded that the abstainers bore their labors better, and suffered less from sickness than the others; the death rate was also less among them. This experiment is the more valuable as it deals not with teetotalers and drunkards, but compares abstainers and moderate drinkers. The soldiers who drank had no chance to get more liquor than the very moderate rations served to them. It must also be remembered that the abstainers were mostly those who had learned by painful

¹ Schmiedeberg, l. c. § 40.

experience that their safety lay in teetotalism, and were not therefore the most robust of men. A man who still has health to ruin is not so easily persuaded to abstain ; nevertheless these same damaged constitutions were the ones which resisted most successfully the dangers of the service. The same was noticeable in the American army in changing from moderate supplies of drink to entire withdrawal. Dr. Frank H. Hamilton expresses himself as follows concerning it : " It is greatly to be hoped that these experiments may not be repeated in the United States army. We have reached the firm conviction, through observation and experience, that the customary use of alcohol is under no circumstances necessary for healthy persons. We make no exception for cold, rain, heat, nor even for the habits of former drinkers, when once they have enlisted."

Results like these are also to be seen in the navy, as well as among merchantmen, thousands of which go to sea from England and America without a drop of spirits on board — and it matters not whether in the tropic, temperate, or frigid zones. Most of the whale fishers are total abstainers and carry no liquors on their ships.

And what is true of physical exertions is also true of intellectual labor. All who have made the attempt agree that intellectual work of all kinds is best prosecuted under the total-abstinence régime. *Alcohol strengthens no one. It only dulls or deadens the feeling of fatigue.*

Among other troublesome feelings which alcohol helps us to get rid of is *ennui* — a sense which, like weariness, is intended to aid in self-regulation of the system. As tired bodies seek rest, so *ennui* sets us at work, and without work both nerves and muscles relax, become inert, and make health impossible. If *ennui* is not overcome by exertions of some sort, it grows to fearful proportions, and finally assumes almost demoniac power. It is often interesting to observe the desperate measures indolent people resort to in order to escape this demon, without any real efforts of their own. He drives them restlessly and without intermission from one company to another, and from one dissipation to another, — but all in vain. His victims might sooner or later be compelled, in order to recover peace of mind and to fill the " aching void " within, to exert themselves in some way, were it not for alcohol, which sets them easily free from their tormentor. In drink and the society of drinkers, they drown all consciousness of the desert waste within. They feel no need of interests or ideals, — they have all the joys and comforts of narcotism. Nothing is more fatal to a man's development than the effort to remove *ennui* by drink ; nothing to such a degree buries and destroys the best in man ; nothing kills with such unfailing certainty the last remains of energy.

Right here it should be emphasized that of alcoholic liquors beer is the most injurious, because no other is so well adapted to this attempt to remove *ennui*. The Philistine is only indignant when a man becomes a thief or a murderer — "*durch den Branntwein*" (through spirituous liquors) — that thousands are impoverished and imbruted through *beer* is a matter of utter indifference to him. This fact never disturbs his selfish peace of mind.

Beer, however, is the worst of alcoholic drinks, because the most seductive. In all classes spirit drinking is a disgrace, but the intellectual *élite* of our country is noted for immoderate beer drinking.

The defenders of beer are accustomed to expatiate on its nutritive qualities, and no one will deny that beer contains a good proportion of carbohydrates, such as dextrose and sugar. But of these carbohydrates there is already no lack in the food of most people, but on the contrary a superabundance. There is certainly then no occasion to seek this kind of nutriment in its most expensive form.

It is further asserted in favor of these weaker alcoholic beverages — beer and wine — that they aid digestion ; in fact, however, quite the contrary is true. Repeated experiments upon men and animals, especially with the stomach pump, and upon persons suffering from ulceration of the stomach, have agreed in establishing this fact, — that even moderate quantities of beer and wine are enough to considerably delay and derange digestion.

The question regarding alcohol as a medicine must be kept strictly separate from the mere enjoyment of alcoholic drinks. As a medicine most physicians are agreed that alcohol is not to be dispensed with. Here the very benumbing properties of which we have been treating render it valuable. It is the mildest of anesthetics, and by its paralyzing effects operates to quiet the nervous system in cases of intense reflex excitement or "nervousness."¹ If it be administered in the form of wine, its beneficial operation is aided by the agreeable flavor and fragrance, qualities not at all to be undervalued. It is evident, however, to every thinking person that alcohol should be prescribed only in acute and never in chronic diseases, for the same reason that morphine and chloral should not be ordered in such cases.

Many say that they drink alcohol not at all for the effects, but simply because of its agreeable taste. In this there is something of justification. It is surely justifiable that we even go out of our own way to heighten the pleasures of the table, but the pleasure which comes from the fragrance and fine flavor of the wine that we place upon it is too dearly bought when at the cost of other table delights. The entire tendency of appetite is changed and perverted through alcoholic drinks. The drinker tends almost exclusively toward a meat diet ; and that sort of food which affords most pleasure to an unspoiled digestion, which a child with its healthy instincts demands, fruits rich in sugar, and all sweet dishes, are hateful to the habitual drinker of alcohol. When a man becomes wonted to total abstinence, he acquires once more the appetite of a child, and the natural instinct harmonizes here most perfectly with the researches of the physiologist, which have established the fact that sugar is the source of muscle-strength. In all languages the word "sweet" has a pleasant sound. If

¹ Alcohol is also indispensable in cases of threatened "collapse" as a means of exciting the heart's sinking activity. It is difficult to explain this in unscientific terms. See Schmiedeberg, l. c. § 41. Probably its operation here also is one of paralysis.

sweetness has become disagreeable, it indicates an abnormal condition. In this condition the drinker finds himself,—and I call every one a drinker who is not quite comfortable unless day after day, in some form or other, in beer or wine or spirits, he brings alcohol into contact with his tissues. And so I maintain that it will be in discarding spirituous liquors that our table pleasures will be intensified—that in this way a far greater variety of such pleasures will be at our command.

Whoever enters the lists against alcohol is immediately set down as an ascetic,—I must therefore be allowed to define my position even more clearly. The nourishment of most persons has far too little relish in it. Out of this failure to satisfy us with the beneficial excitement of the nerves of taste and smell, and indirectly of the whole nervous system, grows the longing for some special gratification of these senses. Nutritious food should always be a gratification to the senses. If all the gold spent nowadays for narcotics could be employed in improving our food; if all the penetration and speculation devoted to the solution of unsolvable problems could be devoted to the production of a beer from which no one would ever suffer any evil consequences (*"Katzenjammer"*—utterly intranslatable!) and to the effort to make nutritious food more palatable, the desire for intoxicants would be far less prevalent than now. We must take pains to get the greatest possible variety for our tables. It is not enough that our food shall contain just such proportions of albumen, fat, and carbohydrates. The taking of food should be always a pleasure, and every meal a festival. Only so are we really refreshed and strengthened to new endeavors and effort.

It is very much the fashion to decry the pleasures of sense as something low in order to make more room for intellectual delights, and the ruling discipline of our day declares that the spirit must conquer the flesh,—a sickly doctrine through and through, and full of danger. The want of esteem for the body and for bodily functions, and the one-sided culture of the spiritual at the expense of the physical part of our being, is really the great offense of our day. One needs only to observe the nervous school-boys with weak eyes and flaccid muscles—the chlorotic girls with shriveled skin and shriveled hearts. Are they not the victims of our sin against the eternal unity of Nature?

Body and spirit are not two separate things. The uninterrupted, intimate casual connection of all physical and spiritual phenomena is an immovable and firmly-grounded fact. If we will not shut eyes and ears to the explanation of this fact,—which no thinking person will knowingly do,—we are inevitably forced to a monistic view of creation—a Monism, however, which will not shape itself toward a material, but an ideal Monism. We shall not, in explaining this intimate relation, explore the unknown, the outer world, the material, but the known, the inner life, the individual consciousness.¹ The victory of idealistic Monism will bring the body and its functions once more to honor. The doctrine that flesh is sinful, the world a vale of tears, and the crucifixion of the body a work well pleasing

¹ See my work on *Vitalismus und Mechanismus*. Leipzig. 1886.

to God, has already been shattered by our great Reformer. He has set the battle in array against such teaching. To the thinking man there is no flesh, — no material being, — all is spirit. We will joy to live in this world of sunshine and color, of song and melody, of happiness and love. And thus I cast off the reproach of the ascetic. I maintain that one denies himself no real pleasure, loses nothing in abstaining from alcoholic beverages, he only gains in the enjoyment of life.

Up to this point we have considered only the consequences of so-called moderate drinking. It is not in my province to describe the results of immoderate indulgence. It has so often been shown that the greatest evils which afflict the world come from the misuse of alcohol, that I limit myself to a mere reminder of these well-known facts.

From this cause alone proceeds a whole army of diseases. No organ of the body goes unscathed of the destroying power of alcohol. English physicians tell us that the half of all sickness is caused by it, and almost all doctors agree that most of the diseases so induced, especially the manifold forms of nervous ailment brought on by drink, from the lightest "nervousness" to pronounced insanity, are unquestionably hereditary. In illustration, it is stated that of 300 imbecile children, whose parents' condition in life, habits, and health was thoroughly investigated, it was found that 145 were the children of regular drinkers.

Quite as well understood is the relation between crime and drink. In Berlin 70 per cent. of all crimes is attributed to alcohol, and in England, 75 to 80 per cent. According to the latest statistics of the German Empire, 42 per cent. of all its crime begins in drink. In murder cases the percentage is 46, cases of apoplexy 63 per cent., severe bodily injuries 74 per cent., lighter injuries 63 per cent., resistance to authority 76 per cent., burglary 54 per cent., and offenses against decency 74 per cent.

In England 75 per cent. of the poor cared for by public funds owe their poverty to this cause. In Geneva and Paris the proportion rises to 80, and in Germany to 90 per cent. It is also known that in nearly all civilized lands, from 20 to 40 per cent. of the male insane, in the judgment of specialists, become so through drink. It should be noted also that a significant number of divorces — in Denmark 25 per cent. — is due to the same evil, and of suicides, 30 per cent. in England, and 40 per cent. in Russia are the results of intemperance.

The whole tide of misery that flows from this fountain-head may be stated, perhaps, even more startlingly in numbers. "In the United States," says Minister Everett, "in the years between 1860 and 1870, the consumption of spirits cost the nation the direct sum of \$600,000,000, and indirectly, \$600,000,000 more; cut off 300,000 men, sent 100,000 children into almshouses, at least 150,000 persons into prisons and workhouses; was the cause of at least 2,000 suicides, and of a loss to the country of \$10,000,000 through fire and violence, besides making 20,000 widows and a million orphans." In most countries of Europe, statistics even more unfavorable can be found on investigation. And let us not forget that it is but the

smallest part of the evil that finds its way into figures and statistics. From the first glass on to insanity there are a thousand grades of misery, but only those who have sounded the lowest depths are taken into account in these investigations. Let us not forget also that each of these miserable ones has made some other lives miserable. How much destroyed family happiness, how much bitter sorrow, how many tears of innocent sufferers, how much deep, gnawing agony never finds its way to the Bureau of Statistics.

And now let us look to the economical side of the question. In many parts of Europe, one quarter of the grain harvest goes into the distillery. Let us, however, assume an average of only one tenth, and we have one tenth of all the agricultural labor and population devoted to the production of alcohol, and in Europe the agricultural population constitutes more than one half of the whole. We must reckon still further the wide tracts of land devoted exclusively to wine culture, and remind ourselves what a robber this wine culture is, absorbing as it does the fertilizers which are withdrawn from other fields at great expense of labor. Think, also, of the innumerable company of laborers who must be added to the number of alcohol producers — those who manufacture agricultural implements, those who build the barns and storehouses, as well as the army of workmen who build and manage breweries and distilleries, who deal at wholesale and retail in the products of both, the great army of saloon-keepers, bar-tenders, servants, and waiters, — and we must at last conclude that probably not less than the tenth part of the whole civilized world works in the sweat of the face, year by year and day by day, to produce and distribute a poison which destroys man's power to work, empties his treasures, fills poorhouses, insane asylums, hospitals, and prisons. Can this really be the worthiest employment for the most highly endowed nations of the world — for the heirs of the culture of all the centuries?

And now comes the question: *What shall be done to uproot this unspeakable evil?*

In seeking the answer to this question, we are met at once by an opposition, probably the most fundamental to be found in the entire view which man takes of the world and his brother man.

We believe in moral progress — our opponents believe only in intellectual progress. They abhor, therefore, every sort of compulsion. No man, they say, can be made more intelligent by force. Morally, they will not be better by any means. Motives remain, in the average, eternally good, or eternally evil — of what use, therefore, is compulsion? Let men fight out their struggle for existence as they will — the stupid will go under — the clever will win — this is the only possible, the only thinkable progress.

With men of this belief, I shall not dispute — it would take me too far out of my present way. I stand with those who believe with rock-firm faith in the moral progress of mankind. Life to me would not be worth the living, if we might not cherish a belief like this to which the history of the world entitles us. Whoever shares this belief will yield the point that a people, like an individual, is not trained to morality without compulsion. The power of the state is based on this truth. Has the state the right

to punish crime, to punish it even with death? Then the state has also the right to prevent crime.

I know very well that the drift of liberal teaching is against this theory. "That would indeed be guardianship," it cries — but when another narcotic, morphine, is concerned, then guardianship is required. The free sale of opium is forbidden in all lands. Here the individual is protected by the state against his own weakness. It is to be noted that every year hundreds of physicians fall victims to the opium habit, because they alone have unrestricted access to the poison — they are the only ones who are not protected by the state. Here, too, we see that the intelligence of men does not protect them, for no one sees more clearly than the physician, the dangers of the drug.

Gambling is forbidden in all civilized countries, and yet the danger to society from gambling is infinitesimal when compared with the dangers of drink. How unmeasured would be our condemnation of the man who would say, "Gambling is a pleasure to me; it is the most agreeable diversion from labor, it rests me and brings me into other regions of thought; there is no danger for me in its fascinations, I control myself perfectly, and shall never let the pleasure grow to a passion. I wish, therefore, that a gambling hell shall be opened at every street corner, so that I may step in whenever and wherever I please. If other people have so little character as to make themselves and their families miserable by their excesses, what is that to me?"

Let us acknowledge the truth! — That is precisely the point of view of the great part of mankind toward the alcohol question. Nothing can give us so deep a view of the narrow-heartedness of men, as a careful observation of their bearing toward this question. With what words shall we characterize his spirit who says to himself, "Let millions of my fellow men year after year find their way into hospitals and prisons — let millions plunge themselves and their families into want and misery, into desperation and suicide, only so I, every evening of my life, may drink my bock beer in comfort, or may cut off at my leisure the coupons of my brewery stock certificates."

The customary advice, Let people only set an example of moderation, I reject utterly. The prerogative of self-control absolves no one from the duty to do all that example can do to save those who can only be saved by total abstinence. We dare not forget this fact — **NEVER YET WAS A DRUNKARD SAVED BY MODERATION.** In no case has a rescue been effected save as the man is convinced that his only safety consists in avoiding the first drink. And the drunkenness of a nation can be healed in no different way from that of the individual.

Again we must not forget how much is accomplished by means of example — that the greater part of mankind does not concern itself about principles. It does not ask, "Why shall I do thus and thus?" but, "How shall I do?" and on this account the example of influential people is worth a thousand times more than the best preaching.

Those who feel themselves called to educate a nation should first begin with themselves. It is a duty of the cultured, the rich, and the ruling classes to work most of all by their example; only so will the right be gained to act

later on by means of law. So long as the poor are denied their schnapps, while the rich man regales himself on his wine, no one will have much faith in movements of reform. There is only one test for purity of motive, only one scale for its measurement : — the sacrifice one is really willing to make for it.

But enough of this. Selfishness will never be overcome by sermons and lectures, but by struggle and necessity — by “blood and iron.” The French people immediately after their defeat in 1870 set about making laws against drunkenness. That was only a beginning, however ; the danger and the disgrace were not yet enough to warrant more than this. The Germans in the flush of victory naturally have not so much as asked themselves if there be anything rotten in the state. But it is not only in the battle of bayonets and cannon that the foul thing may be laid bare ; it is found no less pitiless and deadly in the peaceful contests of trade and commerce. In the strife of the Semitic race with the European nations, it is universally conceded that the abstinence of the former is its best weapon. Let the anti-Semitic nations prepare themselves for the inevitable struggle, by giving up their nauseous beer guzzling !

Quite as well understood is the fact that in the colonization of new lands by Europeans, abstinence from drink gives important advantages. The German in America, in spite of all his national virtues, disappears among other nationalities because of his inseparable devotion to his beer mug.

Let no one contend that no practical measures have been discovered for dealing with this evil. The example of Sweden and Norway shows us how much may be accomplished in a short time, when once a high moral issue is supported both by public opinion and the power of government. In the cities of these two countries where the Gothenburg system has been established, the consumption of spirituous liquors decreased fifty per cent. in the course of five years, and the decrease in cases of insanity from drink was exactly corresponding, while crime was decidedly lessened. The police reports portray the success of the movement in glowing colors. It is not to be supposed, however, that in five years Sweden has reached the utmost point of gain. The beginning only has been made ; entire prohibition of all alcoholic beverages must and will come. The conflict of the nations will force the issue, for in this conflict, the nation will be thrown pitilessly under foot that will not separate itself from drink. That this total separation is possible is shown by the experience of two of the United States of America. In the State of Maine, the production and sale of alcoholic beverages have been prohibited since 1857 with excellent results. In 1882 the State of Iowa followed the example of Maine.

It is often objected that these compulsory measures accomplish nothing ; or that people under such a *régime* turn to other and more dangerous narcotics. That this is the declared bankrupt of arguments, and will apply equally to every effort to make things better. It is exactly as if a father should say, “It does not pay to train my boy in the way he should go, for if I restrain him from one evil, he flies straightway to another.” A good gov-

ernment will be untiring and uninterrupted in its efforts to overcome the folly and weakness of its people. The ever-recurring statement that the prohibition of alcohol in Maine has increased the consumption of opium in that State is an invention which betrays its origin. Statistics show that the consumption of opium and morphine and even tobacco, in Maine, is much less than in neighboring States where no prohibitory law prevails. All other objections urged against the prohibition of alcoholic beverages seem quite as unfounded and easy to overthrow, but I know, none the less, that after all have been set aside, some will still be left to say, "This is a dreary and dismal doctrine. Why should we not enjoy all the good gifts of Nature? Why does the grape purple in the sunshine? Why does the wine sparkle in the glass? All poets have sung its praises, and it has rejoiced the hearts of gods and men. Why should we forego its pleasures? Why not let fancy play at the expense of reason now and then? we were not made to be always coldly intellectual and calculating. We injure no one, only live for an hour in the careless happiness of children. What would become of the world if cool, calm reason always ruled? Does not this very spirit of calculation tend also toward immorality, toward crime, even? And are not the crimes which are thus inspired, the most revolting of all? Let us make life bright and joyous, as it was meant to be, and this is not possible without the pleasures of the cup. Long live good men and strengthening drinks!"

Good friends, the truth is exactly the contrary of this. It is not true that we need alcohol to brighten life. There are nobler joys, and the mind is poorly furnished indeed, uncultured and in the rough, that holds the joys of Bacchus as its highest happiness. And it is this same alcohol that keeps men away from the highest pleasures—prevents them from cherishing the noblest friendships, from linking themselves to those who can raise their ideal of happiness. It is an undisputed fact that year after year people spend their evenings together who have nothing whatever in common, save simply their love of beer. How utterly without reason is a company often gathered together! Whether its members have anything to give to each other, is not so much as asked. The landlord needs only to set the bottles on the table to make his guests perfectly comfortable and secure a good reputation for himself and his house. If it were not for the drink, every man who would gather friends about him would be obliged to consider seriously whether they would be congenial to each other, as well as profitable, and under such scrutiny, a large number of invitations would have to be left out altogether. Men would draw back for a time into solitude till, impelled by the fullness of their own inner life, they would seek congenial souls in whom they might find real friendship. Then might society gain that high intellectual and unrestrained enjoyment which is now only counterfeited by the exhilarating influences of wine. The desire for companionship and sympathy is deeply implanted in our natures, and will be gratified. It needs only training and favorable development, but it is only artificially nurtured by alcoholic drinks; under such forcing it loses its vigor and becomes a languid, hot-house flower.

It is especially fatal that already our young people are turning to intoxi-

eating drinks as a means of good fellowship. Goethe says, "Youth is intoxication without wine." One longs for this youth still, especially among our student-corps, and I maintain that if these young collegians were to make the effort to carry on their own peculiar sort of social life without drink, they would soon scatter to the four points of the compass through sheer *ennui*.¹ Social life thus artificially fed only prevents that natural selection according to community of ideals and interests, which is the basis of all real companionship. It is even worse with the still younger class which begins already to ape the student-life of the university. Already the school-boy finds his most delightful company around the beer mug. Can such pleasures tend other than to an old age in youth — a life *blasé*? Must not every noble ideal in this way be smothered before it has time to germinate?

Alcohol makes man indolent, — disinclined to continuous exertion. It even impairs his enjoyment of the beauties of nature, for the ease with which one acquires habits of bodily exercise — the pleasures of walking, rowing, and mountain climbing — all belong to an unspoiled love of nature. The beer-drinker goes not lustily, even to the beer hall, — and once there, sits as if glued to his chair. Well do I know that the public houses are placed wherever the beauties of nature are greatest and at every fine point of view, but how different God's broad, beautiful world looks in a brisk walk, from the view out of a beer shop window! Alcohol makes one stupid and insensible to the noblest joys of life, and leads to an entire crippling of all his highest powers. Moreover it is not at all true that all poets have sung the praises of wine. Our great poets had other joys and other ideals — only the mediocre have so glorified the pleasures of the cup.

It is through the degradation of high ideals that alcohol exerts its mightiest force against the moral progress of mankind. Chronic, endemial narcotizing leaves no sense of a high moral ideal in the consciousness. The voice of conscience is smothered in drink, and whenever a hint of higher joys may be given, it is swept away in the resistless current of appetite. This pitiful loss soon makes itself manifest outwardly — the thought-life of a man is seen in his face. One has but to glance at the great company of drinkers, to see how, little by little, the nobler traits of countenance disappear, and only a brutal expression remains. The half of mankind is thus distorted through so-called moderate drinking. And after all is said and done, we must acknowledge that the only obstacle to the entire prohibition of alcoholic beverages is simply this — brutal selfishness. This selfishness, however, cannot hold the field. Always unselfishness will conquer. Those always win who bring the largest sacrifice. The entire history of mankind teaches it. Then let this be the consolation which shall sustain us in all the disappointments of life. Let it be the source of our strength, our patience to await the turn of the battle. The victory is ours.

¹ The author is himself an old member of a student-corps and knows whereof he affirms. If I have done my younger colleagues injustice in these remarks, I shall be glad to be placed in the wrong by the test to which I have referred, and will cheerfully confess my error.

HERBERT SPENCER'S NEW ETHICAL FALLACY.

IN the field of philosophy, English thinkers sustain the pre-eminence as to ethics which has long been theirs. The trend is now said to be more strongly than ever against Utilitarianism, and some of the more advanced and brilliant among the younger men exemplify it. They do not go back to Hume or Hobbes, nor even to the younger or the elder Mill. Their protests against Spencer are incisive, and mostly unanswered. One of them, Mr. W. S. Lilly, showed a few months since, in a keen and readable criticism in the "Fortnightly," how destructive of the meaning of all ethical ideas is his countryman's teaching. If he had waited for the August number of the "Popular Science Monthly," Mr. Spencer would have saved him most of his labor. He does not declare outright, like Bentham, that such great words as right, obligation, duty, ought, etc., should be dismissed from our moral phraseology, and happiness, enjoyment, advantage, utility, etc., take their places; but he again attempts, in an essay on "The Ethics of Kant," to empty them of their precious and supreme meaning.

Ordinary readers want the pith and results of such discussions, — vital though they are to human life, character, and destiny, — without the processes on which these depend. The processes are removed somewhat from the usual thinking of even very intelligent persons. But on this account what they ask for is difficult to give. The higher lines of thought do not readily yield truth in a nutshell, long trains of deep thought in short and simple statements, great reasonings in pat and pithy practical forms. One of the mind's elaborate processes will not easily cast itself in the mould of slighter and more flexible ones. In this case, however, the anti-ethical results are put — as against Kant — in a way that any one can appreciate at once.

Mr. Spencer asserts that this would be a far better world if moral motives were disregarded in the acts of men. He would

drive them all out, and put in their place inclination to do what men enjoy doing! Those who leave such writers to the care of scholars and metaphysicians may doubt here, "It is too gross a position for any respectable author to take." Let us see if it is.

Fastening upon Kant's position that only acts done morally have moral worth, and the acts done from (non-moral) inclination have no such worth — whatever else they may have — the Master of Evolution attempts a *reductio ad absurdum* of the great German's teaching. It is almost a burlesque in the style of Professor Jordan's free-trade lampoon, earlier in the "Monthly." To do him ample and absolute justice, we quote his closing caricature in full.

Contemplate now the doings of one whose acts, according to Kant, have no moral worth. He goes through his daily work, not thinking of duty to wife and child, but having in his thoughts the pleasure of witnessing their welfare; and on reaching home he delights to see his little girl, with rosy cheeks and laughing eyes, eating heartily. When he hands back to a shopkeeper the shilling given in excess of right change, he does not stop to ask what the moral law requires; the thought of profiting by the man's mistake is intrinsically repugnant to him. One who is drowning he plunges in to rescue without any idea of duty, but because he cannot contemplate without horror the death which threatens. If for a worthy man who is out of employment he takes much trouble to find a place, he does it because the consciousness of the man's difficulties is painful to him, and because he knows that he will benefit not only him, but the employer who engages him. No moral maxim enters his mind. When he goes to see a sick friend, the gentle tones of his voice and the kindly expression of his face show that he is come not from any sense of obligation but because pity and a desire to raise his friend's spirits have moved him. If he aids in some public measure which helps men to help themselves, it is not in pursuance of the admonition, "Do as you would be done by," but because the distresses around him make him unhappy, and the thought of mitigating them gives him pleasure. And so throughout, he ever does the right thing not in obedience to any injunction, but because he loves the right thing in and for itself. And now who would not like to live in a world where every one was thus characterized?

What then shall we think of Kant's conception of moral worth, when, if it were displayed universally in men's acts, the world would

be intolerable, and when, if these same acts were universally performed from inclination, the world would be delightful?

It is a great advantage in respect to any false doctrine to have it squarely, even bluntly, if need be, asserted. The fallacies of the above burlesque on Kant are many and bold ones.

1. There underlies it all an apparently profound ignorance of the common fact that two or more motives may coincide, — though very different in themselves, — and that the sweeping assertion as to the mind's acting in accordance with one, and "not in obedience" to the other, or one of the others, is often, as a matter of fact, absurd. Obligation can coincide with each of the inclinations Mr. Spencer describes. Their grounds in fact may coexist. The doings of the man, then, might coincide with both, in contradiction to the whole representation he makes. Men act naturally and morally at the same time.

2. In these constantly occurring cases of mixed motives, it is only when one of these grounds has no influence over the man, or he distinctly repudiates it, that any such antagonism between them exists as is asserted. Often an inclination does not *quite* lead us to act, and some "injunction," "admonition," "sense of obligation," "moral maxim," "idea of duty," or of "what the moral law requires," moves us *just enough more* to secure our acting. Or, *vice versa*, inclination may supplement conscience (I could hardly say reinforce it, — since, as even Spencer recognizes, they are unlike, — though, as has been said they may prompt to the same act), and then what obligation alone could not lead us to do, obligation *plus* inclination does. In all these cases of complex motives, the character of the act is doubtless determined by the motive that turns the scale. If this be a moral one, the act is morally worthy and right. If it be a non-moral one, the act is not such.

3. The absurdity of the companion caricature (in the "Review" not quoted here) of men who act from conscience when kind feeling, natural veracity, pity, filial affection, or neighborly sympathy jumps the same way, is apparent. A blunder made here by Mr. Spencer exemplifies what Mr. Lilly has pointed out, — that Mr. Spencer "entered upon his vast task without even an elementary knowledge of metaphysics."

From Kant's simple and clear distinction between moral and non-moral acts he infers that a man's moral worth "is greater in proportion as the strength of his sense of duty is such that he does the right thing, not only apart from inclination but against inclination." Here are two different and opposite cases comfounded with each other. A part of the facts are mistaken for the whole. If one's inclination opposes the right and he still does the right thing, his moral worth is greater; but this is not the case Spencer has had in view all along, but the reverse of it. Both cases occur. If one's inclination runs the same way with his sense of duty, yet the latter turns the scale in favor of action, and is really what leads him to do the right thing then, he does it not "against inclination" or "apart from inclination." And his moral worth is just what the act and his sense of duty make it, neither greater nor less.

4. The preference given to mere natural feeling over moral feeling and action in this quotation is open and even obtrusive. To this misleading writer the world would be more "delightful," if the moral quality of actions were expunged, and inclination ruled men alone! Conscience is superfluous and an intruder. Its restraint of men's evil inclinations, as Kant recognized this, is unnecessary. Inclination is everything, though the world is full of misery and outrage caused by it, "the assumed distinction between sense of duty and inclination is untenable." Of course it is, on the theory that "agreeable feeling" is our only guide to action. Here the Master of Evolution goes a step beyond his own "Data of Ethics." For in that book he had said, "right and wrong can exist in relation to the action of creatures capable of pleasure and pain." Then a sense of duty distinct from inclination to pleasure and from inclination away from pain can exist, even though originally "evolved" out of pleasant sensations. One thing, also, can be right, in some sense of the word — though only one — viz., to do that which "will bring a surplus of agreeable feeling." If Satan, then, had such a surplus in tempting Jesus, he did right!

5. After all, at the last, the moral element which in the "Monthly" is flung out of the world is illicitly and cunningly foisted in again. "He does the *right* thing because he loves the

right thing in and for itself." What does "itself" refer to, "the thing" or "right?" If merely the former, this coincides with the whole essay and with the "Data of Ethics," "Principles of Psychology," etc. If to the latter, then the moral idea is let in to give character to doings which would have none without it. Then the "thought that gives pleasure," "gentle tones and kindly expression," desire to "benefit," "horror" at "death," "intrinsic repugnance," "pleasure of witnessing welfare," may all have a moral element in them, brought in by subreption, mixing up mere natural feeling and moral action in that characteristic confusion by which Herbert Spencer has long imposed upon his readers, and upon many others beside who never read him.

Is it not just possible that some of our own religious teachers who have wedded Christianity to some sort of "Rational Utilitarianism" would do well to reconsider their views? It is hardly progressive theorizing to cling to Paley's ideas when even English free-thinkers give them up. And evolution from sensations of pleasure and pain, if it bolster, does not better the theorizing. Why should transcendentalists have a higher ethics than Christian thinkers? Or religious faith be compromised with a philosophy that is vulnerable, and, it seems to many, "ready to vanish away?" Is holiness subordinate to happiness?

And are there not some things in our evangelism that slope perilously towards Spencer's substitute for the moral force in human character? What of representing religion as privilege and not duty, drawing upon inclination and not conscience? What of making man more prominent than God in our places of worship, giving natural desire predominance over spiritual conviction? What of depending on love of society, amusements, etc., for church success? What of holding forth a gospel *minus* moral law, individualism in place of moral government? What of consulting tastes, prejudices, worldly fashions, rather than the law of the Lord?

GEORGE F. MAGOUN.

Iowa College, August, 1888.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN BERLIN.

THE work of the American Church in the capital of the German Empire is highly encouraging. The average attendance during the past year has been the best since the beginning of the union religious services, and the progress the most marked. On the 26th of June, 1887, the church was regularly organized, on the basis of the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed, with equal rights to all denominations and special privileges to none. Fifteen different denominations were represented at the organization, and the number at present is seventeen. Since the relative number of persons from different churches continually varies, an organization on a denominational basis is out of the question, as all who examine the facts admit. For more than a quarter of a century the union of different churches and different nationalities has here proved a perfect success, and an organization that meets the real needs of the worshipers must be a spiritual home in which all sincere believers have equal rights. The affairs of the church are managed by a committee chosen annually by the congregation. The pastor was installed on the first of January, 1888.

While we trust that the organization of the Church means permanence and greater efficiency, we also rejoice in the fact that the character and importance of the work have become better known than heretofore. Earnest Christians have carefully studied the field, and have found it one of the most important and most promising they have yet seen; and many have declared that they have never known such opportunities for Christian usefulness as are here afforded. Great surprise has consequently been expressed that the home churches pay no attention to this field. For this neglect only one explanation is possible: *the facts are not known*. To these facts attention is here directed, with the prayerful request that they be carefully and thoroughly studied, if possible on the field itself.

There are but few English-speaking residents whose attendance and support can be expected. The parish consists chiefly of sojourners. Some years ago Emerson expressed his joy at the tendency of American students to go to Berlin instead of Paris. The numerous and superior institutions of Berlin have made it one of the chief educational centres, and its attractions to those seeking the highest advantages for culture have of late years greatly increased. Numerous families come here to educate their children, and various schools have been established for young ladies from America and Great Britain. Many *pensions* are crowded with Americans during the winter. One year ago there were 149 American students in the University; this winter there are 163, and quite a number from Great Britain. Still more numerous are the American and British students of music; they are found in all the conservatories, as well as under private instruction. Students of art and of German also abound. Many of our students come here to take their post graduate course, among them such as have won prizes or scholarships at home. In the lecture-rooms, the laboratories, and the clinics, are found preachers, professors, authors, and doctors. The young men and women who have gained the greatest success at home continue their studies here, so as to fit themselves for positions of special influence in their native land. The unusual circumstances of the congregation, the numerous denominations represented, and the large proportion of students and professional men from all parts of America and Great Britain in the most advanced departments of thought, make the church unique and its demands peculiar. Among the worshipers are also such as come on business, or in search of health and recreation. The number of tourists is constantly on the increase, and during the summer many thousands come from America.

The young men and women coming as perfect strangers among foreigners, and finding the language, customs, and views of the people unknown to them, are apt to feel lost, bewildered, and forsaken. Lonely and homesick, they often find themselves thrown with persons who ridicule the Christian view of morality and religion, treat Sunday as a mere holiday, and laud their own license in thought and practice as the essence of true free-

dom and the crown of modern culture. To this must be added the indescribable temptations of a great Continental city. Only such as enter this maelstrom can form a conception of its destructive power. The greatest possible temptations come to the young while deprived of the blessings of home, of the counsel and help of parents and friends, and of the religious support of their churches and Sunday-schools.

The current practical godlessness and gross licentiousness are supplemented by direct attacks on religious faith. Men prominent in literature and science sneer at religion, treat Christianity as obsolete, and ignore or openly deny God and immortality. Materialism, fatalism, and pessimism meet the student in the laboratory, in the university, in literature, and in society. As a consequence, those most earnest in their search for truth may be called to pass through the agony of doubt. A fearful crisis here awaits many a soul, and some learn after the saddest of all experiences that more may be lost than is gained, and that one may return to his native land poorer than he left it.

What now are our home churches doing for the spiritual welfare of their sons and daughters thus situated, and preparing to become their future preachers and professors, and to exert the most powerful intellectual influence in the nation? *Absolutely nothing.* They come from the east and the west, the north and the south; they represent leading churches in all our great cities; and yet while the duties of Christians to the heathen are carefully considered, who at home thinks of these thousands of members and children of Christian churches, and dreams of any responsibility for their spiritual welfare? And if what are termed "Continental" views are imported into our churches, let those who have done their duty to their children abroad complain, but let others observe a respectful silence or blame themselves.

It would be a mistake to suppose that under the adverse circumstances those who come abroad are necessarily doomed to spiritual deterioration. On the contrary many are led to reflect seriously on their state, to learn their weakness and their strength, and to appreciate more deeply than ever the preciousness of their faith. Thus a sublime trust and increased strength

of character may be the result. Frequently the interest in religion is augmented, and this has made the work in the American Church so encouraging and its results so blessed. It affords such a spiritual home as is not easily found abroad, and many have rejoiced that amid foreigners whose tongue is strange, they could worship God in their native language and according to the dictates of their own consciences.

The means at our command are wholly inadequate to the urgent demands. We have no church edifice. The building, Junker Street, 5-6, which we rent from the German Methodists, will seat 270 persons, and is filled during the winter. It is at our disposal only once on Sunday. With a suitable building, properly located, and always at our disposal, the congregations might be doubled. In order to furnish a Christian home and religious exercises, the pastor has opened his house to students on Sunday evenings. Although the invitation was necessarily limited, the house has repeatedly been overcrowded, more than one hundred being present. If at other places room abounds while congregations are lacking, here we find persons eager to come to religious exercises, while there is no room for them.

The worshipers are largely transient and cannot be expected to assume the burden of erecting a church building. Nor are they able to do this. Many students are obliged to live very economically. The Christian work here undertaken is truly evangelical in character, and deeply concerns all our Protestant churches; and if it is to be done efficiently, all these churches must take an interest in it. We cannot make denominational appeals; but the very strongest appeal is made by the facts themselves to those who love our common Christianity and are concerned for the welfare of souls. If the claimed desire for Christian unity is more than empty sentimentality, there is now a good opportunity to prove it genuine by the establishment of a church where this unity is already realized, and where it can prove to those who denounce our "sects" that genuine Christian unity is possible among them.

The regular services must be supported. We depend for this wholly on voluntary contributions, and earnestly request the regular attendants and visitors to make the collections as large

as possible, and to supplement them by subscriptions. Will not the parents of the young here, and friends of the cause, aid us? About \$2,000 are required annually. In many churches the pews are rented and collections are taken besides. In our church the seats are free; but may we not expect the attendants to prove their appreciation of the services by generous contributions?

We need a church building, in order that the work which is growing so rapidly may be done successfully. We want nothing for empty show, but we must meet the pressing demands made upon us. The building should be well located, with a suggestion of the conveniences and associations of our home churches, and worthy of the denominations represented. In connection with the church edifice there should be parlors to meet the social needs of our peculiar parish, and rooms for Christian societies of young men and young women.

We must look to those who attend the services, who have the cause at heart and appreciate our needs, to aid in making the proper appeal to friends and churches. Every worshiper is requested to act as an agent in this matter. We beseech those who were here formerly to prove their interest in the cause by promoting it financially. They will rejoice with us that in the last few years the work has grown as never before, and that still greater increase must be expected.

Professor Christlieb, the distinguished theologian and preacher of the University of Bonn, writes as follows:—

I have observed during many years that the number of American students in our larger German universities has been increasing so considerably, that now it not only equals the number of students coming from Great Britain but often surpasses it. But while the latter have their Anglican churches in almost every remarkable town, where are the places of worship for the Americans? Very often they will not join in the Anglican services, as these lately have become more and more of the High Church character, even on the continent. Now, shall the sons of the wealthiest nation on earth not be spiritually provided for in foreign countries? Does it not matter to hundreds of American parents whether their sons in our universities, surrounded as they are by so many temptations, shall have the benefit of regular reli-

gious care, or not? And nowhere else is this care really more needed than in Berlin, a town which is so lamentably in arrears in the number of churches compared with the population, and where the number of American students is by far the largest in Germany. Therefore, I must heartily indorse the appeal of the Berlin Committee for building an American Church.

The work must be viewed in a threefold aspect: its immediate influence on the congregation itself; its effect on religion here, as a representative of the vigorous Christianity of our free churches; and its reaction on the home churches. Our prayer is that the field may be carefully investigated. There ought to be some association of various denominations in America to look after the spiritual interests of their members abroad, and thus begin a work which the Church of England is prosecuting so successfully on the Continent. We are intent only on doing the work which pertains not to individuals merely but to all the churches, and we shall be glad to have trustees of the church in America, to hold in trust for the donors whatever sums may be given.

Mrs. President Cleveland has been one of our worshipers and understands the importance of this enterprise. She appreciates the fact that our aim is purely Christian in distinction from all that is narrowly sectarian, and her sympathy and help are a source of great encouragement. She has shown her interest in the cause by consenting to receive any money that may be given for the erection of a building for the American Church in Berlin.

J. H. W. STUCKENBERG.

18 Buelow Street, Berlin.

BOSTON HYMN.

GOD IN HIS WORD.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE 202ND BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 26, 1888.

1. IN the morning watch, the Scripture,
Pillar tall of Cloud and Fire,
Leads the ages. God looks through it;
All the stars with Him conspire.
2. Through the darkness shines the lightning;
God in clouds his foes dismays;
Who shall face the shafts of white flame,
That from mists and midnights blaze?
3. Living, sheathless swords of thunder,
Sharper than the edge of steel,
Soul and spirit cut asunder,
Secret thoughts and hearts reveal.
4. Through one perfect Soul God gazeth,
In that Soul His Soul abides;
Noon in Christ mid-noon amazeth,
Saveth who in Him confides.
5. Seen afar a star He shineth;
But as ages to Him run,
Light, with life and bliss, enlargeth;
Christ of highest Heaven is Sun.
6. Light and lightning, Lord and Saviour,
God in Christ for guilt atones:
Face of God, fill earth with harvests;
Sow with sunbeams all its zones.

JOSEPH COOK.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE VIII.

JESUIT OPPOSITION TO AMERICAN SCHOOLS.

MR. COOK'S 202d Boston Monday Lecture drew out the usual great audience. The Boston Hymn, entitled "God in His Word," was sung with impressive effect, and was intended to indicate the central faith and sentiment defended in the course of lectures on Inspiration. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon presided; the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dorchester offered prayer; the Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb presented the Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Lectureship (see p. 232). The Prelude on *Jesuit Opposition to American Schools* was received with emphatic expressions of approbation by the audience. Dr. Dorchester followed the lecture by an eloquent address, illustrated by diagrams, on the Growth of Roman Catholicism in the United States.

THE WHITE POPE AND THE BLACK POPE.

The people of Rome are accustomed to speak of the head of the Jesuit order as the Black Pope, and of the head of the Latin Church as the White Pope. When these two popes agree, they are irresistible in the Catholic world. When they disagree, the Black Pope usually conquers his rival. Clement XIV., in 1773, urged on by vehement complaints from France, Spain, Portugal, and other Catholic kingdoms, abolished the order of Jesuits. They were restored in 1814 by Pius VII. With slight temporary opposition from Pius IX., their power mounted by swift degrees until it was crowned by the victory of Ultramontanism in the famous Vatican Decrees of 1870. Nearly all the sees of Latin Christendom are now filled by bishops entirely satisfactory to the Jesuits. Never in all their history have the Jesuits had as much indirect influence in Protestant countries as at the present hour. Bismarck himself, who a few years ago boasted that he should never go to Canossa, has of late been obliged to make humiliating terms with Ultramontanism. Mr. Gladstone affirms deliberately that the Vatican Decrees vitiate the civil allegiance of Catholics.

"The Rome of the Middle Ages," he says, "claimed universal monarchy. The modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing. . . . Rome requires a convert who now joins her to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another. . . . Absolute obedience, it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not alone in faith, in morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and government of the church. Thus are swept into the papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of government, prevailing, though in different degrees, in every country of the world. Even in the United States, where the severance between church and state is supposed to be complete, a long catalogue might be drawn of subjects belonging to the domain and competency of the state, but also undeniably affecting the government of the church; such as, by way of example, marriage, burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor-relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy, and obedience. In Europe the circle is far wider, the points of contact and of interlacing almost innumerable. But, on all matters respecting which any pope may think proper to declare that they concern either faith or morals, or the government or discipline of the church, he claims, with the approval of a council undoubtedly Ecumenical in the Roman sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of salvation, of every member of his communion." (Pamphlet by Mr. Gladstone on the Vatican Decrees, pp. 11, 24, 42.)

The Jesuit order is now very justly described by as cool an authority as the "*Encyclopedia Britannica*," as a naked sword, of which the hilt is at Rome and its point everywhere.

RAPID EXTENSION OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

In resisting Jesuit attacks on the American public school system, if I may summarize in a word my position, I desire to take exactly the ground occupied by the Evangelical Alliance of the United States at its recent memorable convention in Washington. Bishop Cleveland Coxe read a paper there in which he recognized any merits that exist in the Roman Catholic Church; but he took an unflinching attitude of opposition to Jesuitical interference with our common schools. I do not speak as an echo of the Evangelical Alliance, and yet I am very proud and glad to second its admirable and indispensable work

of opposition to sectarian division of the school funds. [Applause.]

Why ought private schools to be brought under a system of state inspection?

1. It was decreed by the Baltimore Plenary Council of the Roman Catholic Church in 1884, in obedience to papal directions and well-known Catholic principles, that parochial schools shall be established everywhere among Roman Catholics — that is, by about one sixth of our population.

2. This papal order is in process of rapid execution. According to Sadlier's Catholic Directory for 1888, there are now in the United States 2,606 private parochial schools, containing 511,063 pupils under exclusively Roman Catholic instruction.

Boston at the present time, according to Sadlier's official count, has forty-two parochial schools, and 22,250 pupils in them under exclusively Roman Catholic instruction. Cincinnati has eighty parochial schools with more than 21,000 children in them. New Orleans has forty parochial schools with 11,000 children in them. St. Louis has ninety-five parochial schools with upwards of 20,000 pupils in them; Philadelphia, sixty-eight parochial schools, with 25,000 children in them; New York, thirty-seven parochial schools with more than 40,000 children in them. Here is a growth of about five years only. This is the result of a bold declaration made by the National Roman Catholic Assembly, the Plenary Council, as it is officially called, that wherever Roman Catholic parishes are out of debt, and are able to maintain separate schools, they must establish them. There were very few parochial schools of any size in our country ten years ago. From the Pope and his Council in Rome through the Jesuit order outward, this movement has spread, officered in Rome. The Jesuit order supports the movement, and, as one of its emissaries said on this continent not very many years ago, the whole change has been effected as easily as the pulling of a trigger when you fire a gun.

It is important to notice who are the teachers in these schools. I have before me a list of the names of all the parochial schools in New York, and I find the Jesuit brothers and nuns of various orders mentioned as the teachers. I turn to a page con-

cerning Boston, and read that you have one large school in East Boston with 444 pupils taught by Sisters of Notre Dame. You have the Gate of Heaven parochial school in South Boston, with 542 pupils, taught by eleven Sisters of St. Joseph. You have the Holy Trinity parochial school, German, for boys, two Sisters and one lay teacher, for girls, four Sisters of Notre Dame, with 428 pupils, 210 boys and 218 girls. You have in the parochial school of the Most Holy Redeemer, East Boston, ten Sisters of Notre Dame; boys, 410; girls, 510. Many towns in the neighborhood of Boston are mentioned here with their parochial schools and officers, and the summary of the entire arch-diocese of Boston is forty-two parochial schools and 22,250 pupils. The Catholic population of this diocese is supposed to be 450,000.

Certain illy informed people who formed their opinions on Romanism and Jesuitism twenty-five years ago, think that the topic of parochial schools is of little importance. But our country has changed in twenty-five years. Here is New Orleans so largely Roman Catholic that the number of parochial schools is not given at all, but the statement in the Catholic Directory is simply that there is a parochial school in every parish.

CIVIL RIGHTS INVADED BY JESUITS.

8. Roman Catholic parents are forbidden, under the heaviest ecclesiastical penalties, to send their children to the American public schools when a Roman Catholic parochial school is accessible.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts ought to take emphatic positions on the topic of parochial schools, for the civil rights of Roman Catholics have been invaded in this State by Jesuit ecclesiastics. [Applause.] You say I am bringing sectarian discussion into this house and before the community at large. I am not responsible for raising these questions. They are in the air; they are forced upon us by the Baltimore Plenary Council. Not many years ago a livery stable keeper in Holyoke sent his children to the public schools contrary to the advice of his priest. That ecclesiastic told his congregation to boycott that livery stable, and the man's business was nearly ruined.

One of your noble judges decreed that damages could be collected of that priest for such an interference with the business of one of his parishioners. It is a fact of history that in sight of Bunker Hill, in Cambridge, within sound of the guns that are heard on patriotic gala days from the old battlefield yonder, a foreign ecclesiastic whipped an American boy so that for two weeks he could not lie down on his back, the only fault of the lad being that he went, under direction of his parents, to a public school when the priest had advised him to go to an ecclesiastical parochial establishment. That was the famous case of Father Scully on which I had an opportunity to comment some years ago. At that time I ventured to go so far as to say that if Archbishop Williams would speak out, and would be entirely candid, he would say, what at that time had not been said but what a little later the Plenary Council did say, that from sea to sea the ecclesiastics are now urging parents in the Roman Catholic Church, under penalty of ecclesiastical censure, to put their children into parochial schools. I ventured to say that that was the trend of events in 1880, and in 1884 came this deliverance of the Baltimore Council.

4. The Roman Catholic parochial schools are avowedly established to destroy the American common school system, and to secure a sectarian division of the public school fund.

5. The American Republic has now, according to the report of the National Bureau of Education, 471 cities each of over 5,000 inhabitants, and containing in all about one fifth of our population and one fifth of the children of school age. The mass of the Roman Catholic private parochial schools is concentrated in these cities.

6. The Roman Catholic political power is chiefly centred in the same cities.

7. This power is so great that it has already been illegally used in the largest cities to effect large misappropriation of public funds for sectarian purposes.

So well established are these facts that I cannot pause to bring coals to Newcastle. I am a citizen of the State of New York when I am at Lake George, but as a traveler I see somewhat of the larger cities occasionally, and everywhere I come

upon unconfessed anxiety as to the influence of Roman Catholic machinations against the public school system. There are very deep wells of anxiety in Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco, as well as in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

The "Freeman's Journal" says: "Let the public school system go to where it came from — the devil."

Monsignor Capel, an eminent emissary of Romanism, incites a Catholic outbreak by this treasonable language: —

The time is not far away when the Roman Catholics of the Republic of the United States, at the order of the Pope, will refuse to pay the school tax, and will send bullets through the breasts of government agents rather than pay it.

The Catholic Bishop Gilmour writes: "Nationalities must be subordinate to religion. We are Catholics first and citizens next." ("The Forum," July, 1888, p. 561.)

8. The Roman Catholic Church demands a division of the school funds everywhere, but especially in the large cities.

9. It announces its purpose to use its political power to secure state support of Roman Catholic schools.

We read so little on this subject that many of us do not know how timid the pot-house politician is in presence of a threat from the Pope. There is a quiver of anxiety running through the whole mass of our managing politicians whenever they are told that the Roman Catholic vote is likely to be cast against them. Archbishop Hughes taught Roman Catholics in this country the extent of their political power, and he taught politicians the same. He used the full extent of his power in support of positions which he considered sacred, but I have a right to outspoken expression as well as Archbishop Hughes, and I venture to deprecate the extent to which the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics have massed the Roman Catholic vote in support of misappropriations of public funds for Roman Catholic institutions. [Applause.] It is hardly too much to say that in certain penal institutions there is a state church on Manhattan Island, and that it is the Roman Catholic.

JESUITS AS POLITICAL ALIENS.

10. The Roman Catholic schools are largely officered and controlled by the Jesuit order.

11. The Jesuit order is an ecclesiastical and political machine of which the driving wheel is at Rome.

What is this Jesuit organization? It is essentially military in its ecclesiastical constitution. There have been great devout Jesuit missionaries, who carried civilization far toward the setting sun on this continent. But, making exceptions as far as history requires in this direction, it yet remains true that the Jesuit order has been hounded out of every Catholic country in Europe, except Belgium, because of its interference with education and politics. [Applause.] I have no sterner opinions of the Jesuit order than many of the Catholic rulers of Europe have had. I have no sterner opinions of it than Clement XIV. had when he charged it, in spite of its vows of poverty, with insatiable greed for wealth and political power.

The rule of the Jesuit order is that every rector or head of a Jesuit house must make once a week a report to his provincial superior. Once a month the provincial superior makes a report to the head of the Jesuit order at Rome, the general. Of what do these reports speak? Not only as to what Roman Catholics are doing, but as to any events or persons in which Roman Catholics are interested. A system of police is thus exercised, not only over the Jesuit order but over all that touches it. You are under Jesuit inspection, it may be, at this moment, in this hall. Very possibly I am. And in the next reports that go to the provincials in this country this very service may be mentioned. Possibly we may not be so honored, or dishonored [laughter], but there is a vigilant Jesuit eye kept on the whole circle of civilization. And, in order that the general may not be deceived, the heads of houses, or the rectors, report once in three months directly to the general, not through their provincial. There is thus a spider's web cast over the world.

The Jesuit order begins by scooping out the brains of its novitiates, so far forth as self-assertion is concerned. The beginning of Jesuitism is loyalty to the provincial and general. It is a system of military subordination for ecclesiastical purposes. The general at Rome holds in his hand the leashed thunderbolts of the entire order. But we have in our naturalization laws a provision that no one shall be accepted as a citizen of the

United States who owes allegiance to any foreign potentate. That law requires that the alien seeking to be naturalized must make oath two years beforehand of his *bona fide* intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance to any foreign potentate or power.

Now, I assert that no Jesuit of high rank, and even no Jesuit of middle rank in this great military ecclesiastical organization, can take that oath in good faith. Every confirmed, unflinching Jesuit is an alien in the United States. [Applause.] Mr. Gladstone has maintained this proposition with great learning and eloquence, and it would be in this presence a waste of time for me to support a position so generally admitted.

12. Under exclusively Roman Catholic control, popular instruction has never been extensive enough to fit a people for self-government. There is reason, from the example of several Roman Catholic countries of Europe, to believe that if the American common school system were destroyed, instruction in the parochial schools would sink to a level that would imperil American institutions.

It is a Jesuit maxim that "A few should be well educated; the people should be led. Reading and writing are enough for them." In the Papal States, only five per cent. could read and write when Victor Emmanuel took possession of the pope's temporal domain. I know we have some parochial schools in this country that are fairly well conducted. I know that many Jesuits have been men of high learning and culture, in spite of their running in narrow Italian grooves, and being generally of a mediæval pattern in their type of training. I give credit to the Jesuit order for attention to education, but history shows they cannot be safely intrusted with the education of the masses of the people. [Applause.] I shall be told, probably, that Matthew Arnold has lately reported that some of the parochial schools of France are superior to the governmental schools. Yes, but what is France? A Roman Catholic country. It has been under Jesuitical influence for centuries. It has adopted a weak system of public education, and to rival it and trample it under foot, the Jesuits have established a number of rather brilliant parochial schools. The rivalry of the public schools

keeps up the standard of the parochial schools. Remove the public school, let the Jesuit be without competition, and he very soon ventures a vast expenditure for the education of a few leaders, as in the proposed new university at Washington, but permits only a very small expenditure for the education of the masses who are to be led, and kept so ignorant that they can be led easily. [Applause.]

The Black Pope is now more powerful than the White. I maintain that the Jesuitical order, which aims to keep American education for great masses of our countrymen on the Italian level, is an enemy to the working masses of this republic. [Prolonged applause.] Let the education of our Roman Catholic citizens drop to the level which is the average in countries where Roman Catholics have exclusive control, and far greater numbers of them will become mere hewers of wood and drawers of water than would become such if they were sent to our public schools. [Applause.] This is an injury to the Roman Catholic masses. One of my objects this morning is to arouse, if possible, liberal Roman Catholicism in this country to oppose Ultramontaniam and the Jesuit machine.

JESUIT INSTRUCTION DANGEROUS TO MORALS.

13. At its highest level, school instruction, when in the hands of Jesuits, is dangerous to American institutions, because the Jesuit order owes allegiance to a foreign pontiff, has notoriously mutilated many text-books of Roman Catholic schools, and been proved again and again to be responsible for misleading moral and religious instruction.

A little detailed proof will show that I am using as soft language as the case permits. Here is a book which I was so fortunate as to capture the other day by the services of my secretary at a Roman Catholic bookstore in this city. It is well it is in Latin, for there is much of it that could not be read to a mixed audience, and that ought not to be circulated far and wide. It is the famous volume, entitled "A Compendium of Moral Theology," by Father Gury, of the Society of Jesuits. This is an edition published at Ratisbon, in 1874. When, some years ago, the Hon. John Jay, president at that time of the

Evangelical Alliance, published in the "International Review" the assertion that Jesuit teaching, at this hour, is open to the old objections made to it constantly by scholars for a hundred years down to fifty years ago, I hardly credited his assertions. For instance, the Hon. John Jay, quoting from the best English history of the Jesuits (Cartwright's, published by Murray), went so far as to say that Father Gury, in his chapter on temptations, used this language: "We are not held to positive resistance against any temptation whatsoever that is long protracted; for such action would be too inconvenient and subject to innumerable scruples."

I thought it could not be that such a sentence could be verified. But here I am so fortunate as to have the original Latin of that sentence, and it is correctly translated. And this book is issued with more than a page of ecclesiastical approbations. For the benefit of those present who read Latin, I will pronounce, in the old-fashioned style, the original on this point, so execrable that the language ought to be given to the public only in Latin: "*Nec item tenemur ad positivam resistantiam adversus quamlibet tentationem, quæ diu protrahatur; hoc enim nimis molestum et innumeris scrupulis obnoxium foret.*" (Gury, "*Compendium Theol. Moralis*," p. 12.)

I did not credit, I confess, the Hon. John Jay himself, when he went on to say that, in this "*Compendium of Moral Theology*,"—and this famous book is in use in Jesuit colleges throughout the world,—it is taught that he who has sworn to marry a young woman rich and healthy is not bound by his oath should she happen to become poor, or fall into bad health; that servants, and all persons employed on salaries, who are of the opinion that their wages are inferior to the work done by them, may make use of clandestine compensation [laughter], which is defined as consisting in the recovery of what is due by invasion of another person's property. Here are all the references, and if anybody wishes to come up here and verify these quotations, this book is at his service. I find here rules given for the confessional that are unreportable.

It is taught in this Jesuit book that when a man is poor and hungry it is not a moral sin to steal bread. And this matches

well with the statements we hear from Europe, that in countries under exclusively Roman Catholic control socialistic ideas with regard to such thefts spring up very easily. I was told the other day, by a man who had a good deal of acquaintance with the police, that Roman Catholic priests often teach men in the confessional that if they are poor and hungry it is no crime to take a loaf of bread. Now, Heaven knows I pity the poor when they are hungry, and would God I could feed them all. But they are not on the way to honorable livelihood when they take advice like that from the confessional. [Applause.] In short, I solemnly believe that if a man will investigate this subject he will find there is good reason for asserting to-day, what my written proposition maintains, that Jesuit instruction, unchecked, easily becomes misleading in its moral and religious, as well as in its political, aspects.

When a sixth of our population, soon to be a fifth, and that expects to be a majority at the opening of the next century, is founding parochial schools with such incredible rapidity, and putting them under Jesuit control ; when these principles, inculcated by a regiment of the Black Pope, are thrust down the throats of American citizens, it is quite time for us to arouse ourselves, and, in spite of the apathy of the secular press on this subject, — an apathy arising from very evident reasons, — in spite of the fear that politicians may have to discuss it, it is our duty to look into it, and see that our common school system shall not be attacked with impunity by those who are subservient to a foreign pontiff, and teach things morally misleading. [Loud applause.]

STATE INSPECTION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

14. A state inspection of private schools, therefore, should extend to the qualification of teachers, as well as to the results of their instruction, and should be designed to keep all private schools up to the level of the public schools.

You will not understand me to deny the right of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens to open private schools. I am by no means opposing Roman Catholics as going beyond their private rights when they establish institutions under exclusively Roman

Catholic control. I regret that they feel impelled to take this course. I wish we could have here, what is the rule in Germany, the Lord's prayer used in our common schools and hymns sung; no denominational teaching, but that large, tolerant Christianity which Daniel Webster called a part of the common law of the land. I would have no school-teacher inculcate the special tenets of this or that evangelical Protestant denomination, nor would I have the difference between Catholics and Protestants ever brought forward. But the children should unite in simple devotional exercises. They should be allowed to read the Roman Catholic version of the Bible, if they chose, or if their parents prefer, and the Protestant children should have an equal privilege; or, school committees might select, as they have done in Ontario, certain passages, and have them approved for general use in the schools. I am wholly against the total exclusion of the Bible from the schools. [Applause.] At the same time, I am wholly against a denominational use of the Bible in the schools. [Applause.] I would, as I have said before, allow parents to request that their children may be excused from any religious exercises. This is all the liberty which, on American principles, our Roman Catholic citizens, or our Jewish, or our infidel, or atheistic fellow-citizens, have a right to claim. With that conscience clause in the laws, I do not see why we might not introduce as much religious instruction of the simple, undenominational kind, as will be necessary to maintain the moral sanity of our system of education, and to prevent the cry of the Catholics that the schools are godless. One of the schemes of astute Roman Catholic school committee men, under Jesuitical leadership, has been to get the Bible excluded from our public schools, and thus to be able to raise the cry that they are without the Bible and godless. [Applause.] I am for a certain amount of deference to all those who respect religious instruction, strictly so-called, stopping this side of denominationalism; but I would say, with several of the greatest educational experts who have lately spoken on the subject, and in the spirit of the deliverances of many of the great evangelical bodies, that there is to be a distinction made between religion and denominationalism of any kind, and

that Christianity taught in its broad outlines is not denominationalism. [Applause.]

I would insist, therefore, on this conclusion : —

15. If experience shows that such a measure is a political necessity, a system of state inspection should refuse to license Jesuit teachers for American children. [Applause.]

16. At all costs, illiteracy must be prevented, dangerous foreign opposition to our school system thwarted, and the public school fund saved from sectarian division.

The Gallican Church, under the lead of liberal Catholics, would not permit the Pope to interfere with the system of French instruction in the common schools. The Gallican Church has repeatedly taken an independent attitude, and through the use of the legislative power in France has forbidden even the publication, in the French republic, of a papal document interfering with either politics or religion. It is high time that Roman Catholics in this country should assert for themselves as much liberty as the Pope has been obliged to concede to Roman Catholics in France, and in several other Catholic countries of the Old World. [Applause.] It is, in short, high time, for the benefit of the republic at large, and of the Roman Catholic population, that you should secure at least the undivided supremacy of the White Pope over the Black Pope. [Applause.]

LECTURE VIII

SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH THE VOICE OF GOD.

It is said of Rameses I., king of Egypt, that he wrote over his library this title: "The Dispensary of the Soul." The Holy Scripture has certainly acquired unmatched eminence in history as a dispensary for the souls of men. Its effectiveness has been tested age after age by experience. Who mixed its medicines? This is a question of importance, but of far inferior importance to the inquiry whether men have been healed by the use of these remedies.

My subject is *Self-Evident Truth the Voice of God*, or the testimony of the scientific consciousness and of the church of all ages to the religious truths of the Scriptures.

My propositions are: —

1. That healing for the soul consists in its deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it.

2. That the Bible is the only guide that shows how this double deliverance may be attained without violence to self-evident truth.

3. That the truths of the Bible, and these only, whenever conscientiously used as a dispensary for the soul, have actually healed men.

4. That this combination of indisputable facts is a proof of the Divine origin, that is, of the inspiration of the redemptive and healing truths of the Bible.

A distinction is to be made between the truths of the Bible and the Bible itself. The former very evidently existed before the latter. The truths of the Bible are a part of the Divine order existing from eternity; the Bible, as an apocalypse of these truths, is of yesterday. Religion does not come from the Bible, but the Bible from religion.

The testimony of the church to the truths of the Bible begins, — shall we say with Moses? But only the initial frag-

ments of the written Scripture existed in his day ; and yet all its truths were extant in the universe. If you go back to this supreme prophet of the ancient dispensation, you ought to say with Keshub Chunder Sen, that Christ speaks in Moses, and Moses in Christ. The reformer of Calcutta taught that one gospel is to be found in the writings of Moses and in those of the New Testament. But must you not go farther back to Abraham, who was the friend of God ? What is the church ? The society of the friends of God. Must you not go farther back to the morning of the creation, and to the ordainment of those laws which constitute a kingdom of God ? It has been my joy to maintain, as Hermann Lotze does, that the sum of the self-evident truths of the universe is simply the method of the action of God. They are his omnipresent activity. Every self-evident truth is unchangeable, eternal, omnipresent. Self-evident truth has a Divine kingdom. Wherever we find self-evident truth in the universe we touch God. There is a sense in which it is He. It has a kingdom, and there is no doubt that the government is on its shoulder. But if it is He, God has a kingdom, and the government is on his shoulder. So, in seeking the origin of the church, we must go back to the absolutely indisputable circumstance that there is a Divine kingdom, omnipresent, eternal, immutable, irresistible, holy.

Now, the Bible is the book, as I understand it, which reveals the laws of that kingdom, the penalties of disloyalty to it, the methods of returning when rebels have come to a better mind, and, in short, the way of salvation under a kingdom that will not treat its own laws with disrespect. The Bible is an apocalypse of the Divine spiritual order. It is useless to preach a soft religion. It is useless for us to shut our eyes to the scientific reality of God's government. The Bible maintains from beginning to end that the way of salvation consists in deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it. From commencement to close of this series of sixty-six books, the way of salvation is declared to be through the new birth and the atonement. From the opening pages of this record to the closing, the fact is recognized that a man is not delivered from the guilt of sin when he is delivered from the love of it, and that

he must be delivered from both the love of it and the guilt of it before, in the nature of things, he can be at peace with the Divine kingdom. Under heaven and among men this book presents the only scientifically defensible position in connection with the answer to the question what must we do to be saved, that is, what must we do to be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it? This singular circumstance comes back to me with more and more force as my studies advance, the adaptation of the Scriptural key to the lock of the human soul, and to the lock of the universe, and to the lock of the self-evident truths, and to the infinities and the eternities which those truths govern. The key matches all locks; no other matches them. So much is demonstrable.

And when you remember that this key was wrought out to its present shape by many hammers on many anvils, through many ages; when you remember how rude were the blows struck on many occasions, but how, nevertheless, the key grew to a definite shape, and how at last it was finished so as to turn without forcing in the wards of the conscience and of the universe, I think you must admit that it is at least mysterious that so many blows should have produced so perfect an instrument. [Applause.]

ONLY THE FRIENDS OF GOD AT PEACE WITH GOD.

There is, then, a kingdom of God, and admission to it depends on self-surrender to God, or self-surrender to the self-evident ethical truths. I maintain that coöperation with God is a duty inculcated by the most exact ethical science. Coöperation with the immutable truths of the universe, which are only God's method of action, is demonstrably necessary to our peace in the universe. But this is the Biblical doctrine also, and so there is a sense in which self-surrender to the self-evident is self-surrender to God. In the cans and cannots of the Bible I find beyond all question an echo of the self-evident truths, and so the voice of God. Inspired or not inspired, a revelation or not a revelation, there is in the Bible immense scientific profoundness, immense adaptation to human wants, immense, and as I think, without the theory of inspiration, utterly inexplicable fitness to the largest needs of the human soul. [Prolonged applause.]

Man cannot be at peace with God unless he becomes a friend of God. He cannot, in the very nature of things, be at peace with Him unless delivered from both the love of sin and the guilt of it. He cannot serve two masters. These are all truths at once of science and of Scripture.

I begin the witness of the church to inspiration, therefore, at the day of the birth of these immeasurably profound cans and cannots. You may say the cans and cannots of the Bible are the corner-stones of the church of God. They are the corner-stones of the doctrine of the new birth and of the atonement, and these doctrines are the foundations of the church. Whether you begin the church, therefore, with angels or with men, you must remember there was a God before there was a revelation, and that in some sense there was a church before there was a Bible, for this Bible is the outcome of the activity of God upon his friends. There was a New Testament church before there was a New Testament in the written form. And so there was in Abraham's family the germ of a church before there was an Old Testament. The witness of the church to inspiration begins whenever and wherever man attains to self-surrender to God, and finds God entering his soul in a method otherwise never experienced. From the dawn of human experience to the present hour it has always been true that whoever yields to light obtains more light. It has always been true that he who surrenders to God obtains a sense of sonship in the Divine kingdom. It has always been true among those who are the friends of God that a sense of acceptance with God follows co-operation with Him. This is not the full doctrine of the atonement, it is not the full doctrine of the new birth; but so is the universe made, so is man made, that total, affectionate, irreversible self-surrender to God brings a sense of peace and of pardon. And although that sense is so vague that it is incapable of giving rest to the soul in all cases, still it is a whisper of peace, it is an indication of the fundamental structure of the Divine kingdom.

The true church, therefore, begins wherever the reconciling witness of the Spirit was first received by any rebel returning to loyalty under the Divine wooing. It is God who brings us

back, it is truth that wins us, it is our Father who meets us while we are afar off. But whenever and wherever the first prodigal turned his face towards his Father's house and was met with a kiss, there began the church; and from that day to this, in all ages and among all peoples, the structure of human nature and its action under spiritual laws have been a witness to inspiration, that is, to the truth of the doctrine concerning the necessity of deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it, the truth of the doctrine of the new birth, the truth of the doctrine of an atonement. Very vague was the notion that the Old Testament saints had of a Saviour; not so vague the notion they had of a Lord. But we are often in not a little danger of forgetting that God is Lord as well as Saviour. It is said in the New Testament that no man without the aid of the Holy Spirit can call Jesus Lord. No man except by the Holy Ghost can say from his heart *Victory to God*. But whoever does say this from the heart will experience an access of God to the soul and be endued with new wisdom from on high.

ILLUMINATION A WITNESS TO INSPIRATION.

It is safe to assert, therefore, that the church, defined now as the community of self-surrendered souls, has an inferior amount of inspiration, better, perhaps, called illumination, and that this always begins at the instant of self-surrender. The New Testament test is self-surrender. That is the proof of possession of the Holy Spirit. No man can say Jesus is Lord, no man can from the heart choose God as king, except by the Holy Ghost. We have a scientific right to affirm that when we thus surrender we receive a certain illumination unknown before and unobtainable in any other way. The Holy Ghost touches us always, but in a new way after we yield to it. The mystics have experiences that science ought to study in detail. There is a mood of mind universally approved at sight. There is a posture of soul that gives a man a good repute in every age and in every circle. "See how these Christians love each other," was said at ancient Antioch, the most corrupt municipality of its quarter of the world. Christians had good report of their neighbors. When a man yields to God he is like glass cut

to the shape of a prism. What before passed through as white light is dissolved into the spectrum. The instant we assume an attitude of loyalty, we become clothed in a new garment of spiritual glory. The white light is really what it was before, but we have dissolved it by appropriating it.

The orators tell us, Cicero has said, that in every passage of majestic eloquence there is *aliquid immensum infinitumque*, something immense and infinite. In the loftiest moods of the poet or of the orator, we feel carried away by a force outside ourselves, and yet no one would claim that such a mood guarantees infallibility. Nevertheless this mood does help us to appreciate a loftier mood that may guarantee infallibility.

What I wish to insist upon is that the church, by the gift of spiritual illumination, is the best judge on earth of the doctrine of the higher illumination, that is, of Biblical inspiration strictly so called. Wisdom is justified of her children. The supernaturally self-surrendered souls of the world are those who are to be heard first when we raise the question whether the Bible is an inspired book.

The Bible heals us; the Bible matches our wants as unregenerate individualities; it matches our higher instincts as regenerate. And this witness of the Spirit in us after we have passed the line between the condition of those who are not loyal and that of those who are, is one of the supreme proofs of the reality of inspiration. It was this witness, conjoined with historical evidence, that determined the canon of the Scripture. Out of a multitude of books these books have been chosen by the selective instincts of regenerate souls. I know the church is not all made up of the pure. I know that the Christian consciousness, so-called, justifies one thing in one age and another thing in another. But there is a scientific consciousness made up of the cans and cannots, or the self-evident truths. There is a regenerate consciousness, which our fathers of the reformation era used to call the witness of the Spirit.

The harmony of both the scientific and the regenerate consciousness with the redemptive truths of Scripture is one of the supreme proofs of the Divine illumination of the former and of the Divine inspiration of the latter.

CHRIST AS AN EXAMPLE OF INSPIRATION.

Ethical science should not forget for an instant that there has been in human history one soul and but one who obeyed from the first all the laws of the kingdom of God. There has been one perfect soul and but one known to our race. As the only perfect soul, as the only spirit entirely harmonized with God, Christ is the supreme witness to the fact of inspiration and himself the supreme example of it.

The testimony of Christ to the fact of the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures is to me an argument beyond all appeal. His promise of inspiration to the writers of the New Testament is a similar argument. But age after age the regenerate consciousness, a phrase less liable to abuse than that of Christian consciousness, has been able to assimilate all Divine truth, sacred and secular. Christianity, and it alone, among all the religions of the globe, takes into its bosom whatever is true and lovely and of good report. And this is another portion of the testimony of the church in all ages to the reality of inspiration.

The Bible, and it only, as a dispensary for the soul has healed those who have used it. It has done so for ages. We know beyond question that its medicines are effective. But it is a yet more astounding fact that no other medicines are effective. On earth and among men this is the only tree whose leaves, as tested by experience, are found to be capable of healing the nations. We cannot add a book to the canon. There is no book on earth that we should vote for to be made a part of the Bible; and there is, I think, no book in the Bible that we could lose without feeling a spiritual wound very deep and likely to grow more mischievous as time should advance. The Bible is not all of equal importance, but it is all permeated by one spirit. The doctrinal unity of it, the historical unity of it, are realities absolutely inexplicable except by the fact that one fan has winnowed this grain from the beginning. The assimilation of food is proof of its quality; and for centuries the Bible, and it only of all the sacred books of the world, when eaten has made good blood. [Applause.]

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP COMMITTEE, MARCH
26, 1888.

THE committee in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship make the following report : —

I. The Lectureship is now in its thirteenth year. Mr. Cook has delivered in Boston two hundred and two lectures on the most difficult and important religious and philosophical themes. As nearly all these lectures have been accompanied by preludes on the most vital issues of reform, he has discussed not far from twice that number of subjects.

II. The committee have been gratified at the undiminished attendance on the lectures, from two to three thousand people having gathered at noon on Mondays, week after week, during the present course, to listen to these discussions.

III. The subjects discussed in the lectures of this year have related to various aspects of the great theme : GOD IN THE BIBLE. The positions taken have commanded the earnest approval of the evangelical friends of the Lectureship. A continuous course of thought, occupying over three hours, and intended to be read as one discourse, has outlined a defense of the doctrine of Inspiration, under the following heads : —

1. Did Christ teach by Inspiration ?
2. Inspiration as attested by Paul's Undisputed Epistles.
3. The Supernatural in Christianity and Christ.
4. Christ's Estimate of the Old Testament Scriptures.
5. Fulfilled Predictions as a Proof of Inspiration.
6. Man and Scripture as Lock and Key.
7. Supernatural Law in the Natural World.
8. Self-evident Truth, the Voice of God.

IV. The Preludes of the lectures this year have touched, as usual, on the most urgent issues of Leading Reforms : —

1. Assassination as a Weapon of the Saloon.
2. Utah at the Doors of Congress.
3. Asa Gray and Charles Darwin in Contrast.
4. Free Speech on Public Grounds.
5. American Electoral Reform.
6. High License as a Hindrance to Prohibition.
7. Roman Catholic Parochial Schools.
8. Jesuit Opposition to American Schools.

These addresses have, as heretofore, been wholly independent of sect or party and as useful as they were timely.

V. The new feature of original hymns, introduced last year, has been continued this year with impressive effect. One of the hymns used last year — "God's Time Now" — has already been incorporated into one of the collections of hymns most widely used in the aggressive religious activities of the churches.

VI. The publication of the Boston Monday lectures in a separate form, in a series of pamphlets, made the Lectureship last year wholly independent of the press, and gave it an accredited organ of its own, of which the lecturer had exclusive control. This serial has been succeeded by the new magazine *OUR DAY*, a Monthly Record and Review of Current Reform, of which the Monday lecturer is editor, with the assistance of eminent specialists in reform at home and abroad. This periodical has met with most cordial favor from both the religious and the secular journals, and has already proved a success, with large promise for the future.

VII. The following gentlemen have given written permission for the use of their names on the honorary committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship: Rev. JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College; Rev. R. S. STORRS, D. D., LL. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D., LL. D., New York city; Prof. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., LL. D., Andover, Mass.; Prof. J. P. GULLIVER, D. D., Andover, Mass.; Bishop F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D., LL. D., Syracuse, N. Y.; Prof. S. I. CURTISS, D. D., Chicago Theological Seminary; Ex-President GEORGE F. MAGOUN, D. D., LL. D., Iowa College; Bishop BENJAMIN N. PADDOCK, D. D., LL. D., Boston; Hon. A. H. RICE, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts; Hon. WILLIAM CLAFLIN, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts; Prof. BORDEN P. BOWNE, Boston University; SAMUEL JOHNSON, Esq., Boston; Rev. Prof. L. T. TOWNSEND, D. D., Boston University; Rev. OTIS GIBSON, San Francisco; Hon. JOHN EATON, Ph. D., LL. D., Marietta College, Ohio.

VIII. The coöperation of specialists in reform, by letters to the Lectureship, and by addresses on its platform, has been especially full and valuable this year. A symposium of letters on Inspiration has been contributed for publication. The wide travel and acquaintanceship of the lecturer enable him to draw fresh information from correspondents in many parts of the world.

IX. The Letters, Preludes, and Symposium published last year have been widely noticed abroad as well as at home, and have just been issued in the United States in a volume entitled "Current Religious Perils." A recent British magazine speaking of the Monday lecturer says: "On this side of the Atlantic we know of no author, either British or American, who is just now so widely read." In thirteen different styles of publication the Boston Monday Lectures have been reproduced in London in scores of editions and have circulated very widely in India, Japan, Australia, and all English-speaking countries.

X. Profoundly grateful to Providence for the remarkable opportunities of usefulness opened for so many years to the Boston Monday Lectureship, the committee in charge of it recommend, —

(1.) That Mr. Cook be requested to continue his lectures next season, on the same general plan as heretofore. (Long-continued applause.)

(2.) That the Boston Monday Lecture Association be enlarged in membership, but that a portion of the seats at the lectures be kept open, free to the general public.

(3.) That the thanks of the association are due to Mr. J. P. Bacon, the accomplished stenographer, who has reported the lectures, and to the various specialists who have contributed letters to the Symposium on the subject of the year, or made addresses from the Independent Platform of the Lectureship. (Applause.)

Rev. A. J. GORDON, D. D., *Chairman.*

Rev. JAMES M. GRAY.

Rev. N. G. CLARK, D. D.

Rev. V. A. LEWIS.

Rev. WILLIAM F. WARREN, D. D., LL. D.

Rev. L. B. BATES, D. D.

Rev. A. H. PLUMB, D. D.

RUSSELL STURGIS, JR.

Rev. M. R. DEMING, *Secretary.*

GEORGE A. FOXCROFT, *Business Manager and Treasurer.*

Boston, March 26, 1888.

REPEAL OF THE STATE REGULATION OF VICE IN INDIA.

THE repeal by vote of Parliament, June 5, of the infamous system of State Regulation of Vice in India is an event of such importance that we place on record an outline of the parliamentary debate which preceded it. But the agitation outside Parliament is worthy of much study as indicating the power of a single philanthropist and of the religious press, the pulpit, and the platform when combined in this work of moral reform. Mr. Alfred S. Dyer, almost alone and unaided, went to India to investigate the matter. His letters published in London first aroused the respectable portion of the English public. Appeals from over four hundred missionaries were sent to England. The following is a specimen of these documents : —

TO THE BOARDS OF DIRECTORS OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES REPRESENTED BY MISSIONARIES IN INDIA :

It is impossible for us, as ministers of Christ, to be neutral in view of the conflict which is going on against the licensing of impurity by the British government in India.

We are bound to uphold the obligation of the seventh commandment. We cannot admit that it is ever expedient to break the law which has been ordained by the Supreme Ruler of the universe and the Creator of mankind.

It is therefore with sorrow and shame that we behold the government of India recognizing prostitution as a lawful "business," providing houses for the free occupation of numbers of women engaged therein, and issuing to the said women certificates authorizing them to pursue that course of life which God so repeatedly and so emphatically condemns, prohibits, and warns against in his written word.

The action of the government in this respect cannot do otherwise than seriously hinder the work of Christian missions among large masses of the people of India.

We therefore solemnly invite the managing boards of the respective missionary societies with which we are connected to make such representations to the Imperial Government of Great Britain as will help to speedily remove the unholy institution of licensed impurity from India.

This memorial is signed by no less than 403 missionaries, connected with 36 Protestant missionary societies in Great Britain, America, and on the continent of Europe.

The British people were found to be of far higher moral tone and sensitiveness than the government of India. Although many nominally religious journals remained silent as to the infamy, and although the secular press gave little or no assistance to the work of repeal, the question was triumphantly brought before Parliament. After seven hours' debate, the repeal was carried by a practically unanimous vote.

In what the morning papers of the following day describe as "an unusually full house," in the presence of crowded Treasury and Front Opposition Benches, Mr. Walter S. B. Maclaren rose in Parliament, June 5, to move "That, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorizes, or permits such measures ought to be repealed." After seven hours' debate, this was unanimously carried. The triumphant passage of this resolution is practically the "*Habeas Corpus Act*" and the "*Bill of Rights*" for the women of India. All existing and all future legislation will have to be brought to the touchstone of this resolution, will have to be framed and amended to accord with its principles.

At a quarter past four, Mr. Walter S. B. Maclaren moved the resolution in the foregoing paragraph, and in doing so said that he did not in the slightest degree apologize to the House for bringing such a distasteful subject before it. Apologies were due from the upholders and promoters of such a system, and not from the opponents of it. The present demand was for total and immediate repeal of every vestige of the Contagious Diseases Act, and of those portions of the Cantonment Acts which contained any trace of the regulations under that act. Any compromise in the matter he entirely repudiated. (Hear, hear.) The whole system was founded upon the assumption that immorality must be licensed, and that prostitution was a normal condition of the human race. He ventured to say that this was a doctrine which the House would emphatically repudiate. He then went on to give an account of the introduction of the system, the deep resentment of the natives to its establishment, the strong opposition of the whole religious community to it, evidenced by the memorial just received from India signed by the representatives of forty missionary societies, and by three hundred missionaries, and the utter sanitary failure of the acts. The remedy for this failure was said to be that the act should be enforced with more enthusiasm. Were the government prepared to be thus enthusiastic in the matter? Did they dare to go on brothel-building and furnishing, and entering into competition with, and in fact monopolizing, the

infamous trade of procuration? With regard to Major-general Chapman, the author of the Circular Memorandum so often referred to in the House, had he not declared, in reply to a telegram from Lord Cross, in August, 1887, that neither the government nor its officers had, directly or indirectly, encouraged prostitution? If he was prepared to tell such an unmitigated falsehood as that, he ventured to say he was capable of doing anything. Was the task of watching the suspension of the acts to be left to such men as him? Apart from all other grounds for his motion there was the high ground of morality and the inherent wickedness of the acts. Whatever was morally wrong could not be politically or physically right. The House had more reason, instead of less, to protect the Hindu women than their English sisters, because they were helpless. Every one of them was as valuable as the daughter of any member of that House, and their security and welfare should be as carefully guarded by the House. There was a strong and burning feeling of indignation growing in the country on this question. Was the government prepared to face the agitation of this question from every platform? Was the government prepared to face the whole religious sentiment of this country? And above all, was the government prepared to face the wrath of every woman in England on this question?

Mr. Maclaren then, after speaking for an hour, during which he secured the closest attention of the House, sat down amidst loud cheers, and a burst of uncontrollable applause from the ladies' gallery. This latter extremely natural, but unparliamentary proceeding, drew a remonstrance of "Order! Order!" from the Speaker. The morning papers stated that this was the first time in the history of the House that the Speaker had had to check applause from that quarter. During the latter portion of Mr. Maclaren's speech, Mr. W. E. Gladstone listened most intently, leaning on the back of his seat with his face turned towards the speaker. Indeed, the feeling of the House was so intense that the familiar expression "you could have heard a pin drop" was most applicable.

Sir R. N. Fowler, one of the most popular of London's Lord Mayors, then rose from the Conservative side of the House to second the resolution. He would never admit that they had no right to interfere with the government of India in matters of this kind. They were continually interfering with the government of India in all sorts of ways, surely there was a cause this time. Moreover, the missionaries of all the different societies were unanimous in asking the House to abolish the system. Because he believed these acts to give encouragement to vice, and that whatever gave encouragement to vice ought at any risk to be swept away, and because he believed that these acts were a difficulty in the way of those who were devoting their lives to spreading the gospel in India, he gave a cordial and earnest support to the motion he had the honor to second. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. George Cavendish Bentinck then rose to lead off the opposition to the resolution, and to support the system. He evidently felt that he was fighting a losing battle, however; and even he was bound to confess that

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the Circular Memorandum of Major-general Chapman "shocked his moral sentiments."

Sir John Gorst next made a very long speech, in which he endeavored to excuse the dilatoriness of the India Office in dealing with this question. In support of the system, and in opposition to the tens of thousands of holy women in England who are banded together against it, Sir John Gorst had the childish weakness to adduce the opinion of the woman Webb, who was government matron of the Chatham Contagious Diseases Hospital under the English system. He also trotted out once more the abnormal dissenting minister who years ago wrote to him in favor of it. "He hoped, therefore, that the House would excuse any want of enthusiasm on his part for the repeal of the acts." He concluded his speech by attempting to whitewash Major-general Chapman and his confederates. "He did not mean to say that grievous errors had not been committed in the administration of the government of India, but what he did claim was that the men who administered the affairs of India were guided in their conduct by the purest and most patriotic motives; and any one in that House or in the country who attempted to traduce the honor or the morality of the government of India was guilty of a gross slander against a body of men who were carrying on what he held to be one of the purest and one of the best governments which the history of the world had ever seen."

It is plain that in Sir John Gorst we have one of those men who, on moral questions, are blind and deaf, and who therefore require to be taken by the shoulders and gently pushed in the right direction. This is what has been done in the past few months, and we must do it again if necessary.

After Sir John Gorst had sat down without definitely opposing the resolution, —

Professor Stuart rose in support of it, and gave a very exhaustive speech on the question of the power of the India Office in this matter, adducing an exact parallel in the case of Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India in 1875 with the cotton duties. He then dealt with the statistics of Surgeon Major Barclay relating to the averages of disease at different stations, which the India Office had carefully reprinted in the copies of dispatches, etc., just laid before the House, and said that, incredible though it seemed, there was not one single average in the whole report but was taken wrongly. Any conclusion, therefore, which the government founded upon it, and they had founded conclusions upon it, was worthless and misleading, and it was a disgrace to any man who dared to come forward to interpret statistics to the Indian Government and the British public that he should be guilty of mistakes for which a school-boy would get a sound thrashing. (Professor Stuart clearly demonstrated to the House the childishly fraudulent character of these figures, being followed with marked attention by Sir John Gorst, who appeared to carefully work out the simple arithmetical problems demonstrated, and then to become considerably confused.) In conclusion, he protested that the flimsy pretext was cut from under the feet of the officials of the India Office that they had no right to interfere, and they

stood face to face with the question whether they would that night get rid of or maintain a system which was founded on vice, built up of injustice and cruelty, and bolstered and buttressed by fraud. (Cheers.)

At this juncture the usual half-hour for dinner took place, and immediately after the India Office put up

Sir Roper Lethbridge, himself an old Indian official, to attempt the impossible task of vindicating the characters of the persons responsible for the issue of the Circular Memorandum and other similar papers. Amongst other things, he said that Quartermaster-general Chapman, whose signature is at its foot, was "one of the most active and prominent members of a most estimable and self-denying religious body, the Plymouth Brethren." He said that it was impossible that he could have put his name to such a filthy circular. It must have been done by some subordinate with an India-rubber stamp. He begged the House to leave the matter of repeal in the hands of the high-minded and honorable men who had the carrying out of the system.

Mr. John Edward Ellis said that the House was not prepared to repose that confidence in Indian officials that Sir John Gorst and Sir Roper Lethbridge had asked for. This story of the India-rubber stamp, if true, only made matters a great deal worse. Was it possible that officials in high positions in India were handing over rubber stamps to their subordinates to affix their signatures to important public documents? He believed the majority of the House was in favor of the resolution of his honorable friend. By that resolution they would stand; they asked for nothing more, and would be content with nothing less. (Hear.)

Mr. Henry J. Wilson said that he should be the last man in the House to deprecate genuine piety, but they had all heard similar tales of "piety and prostitution" to the ones brought forward by some of the speakers to-night. He read extracts from various reports to show that the statement of the Under-Secretary for India that the system had been in operation only a few years was not consistent with the facts. The system enabled soldiers to give false information as to perfectly innocent women, who were, in consequence of such information, subjected to the law. He altogether denied the necessity of all the regulations, such as not allowing soldiers into cities, and thought that reasonable occupation and recreation would be far better than any such rules, which would make the life of a soldier in India intolerable. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. Wright, from the Conservative side of the House, read a very strong letter he had received from a Church of England clergyman, imploring him, in the name of God, and on behalf of the millions of India, to use his influence for the repeal of these laws.

Mr. Serjeant Simon thought the honorable member who had brought forward this matter had done a great public service, for he had enabled the House of Commons to pronounce upon and condemn this system. (Hear, hear.) We were in the habit of justifying our presence in India on the ground that we were a civilizing power there; but this law struck at the

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root of the first principles of morality, and legalized a vice which all Biblical religion condemned. (Hear, hear.) He hoped that the government would see their way to the repeal of this legislation, and thus to rescue the British name from the dishonor which now rested upon it in relation to this matter. (Hear.)

Sir Richard Temple, late governor of Bombay, then rose to support the acts, taking great care, however, to repudiate all sympathy with the documents which even Mr. Cavendish Bentinck had described as "shocking his moral sense." He spoke for about an hour to an amendment which he finally declined to move.

Sir Walter Foster, president of the British Medical Association, on behalf of the whole profession utterly repudiated the odious use to which medical men were put under this system. The acts had altogether failed in India from a hygienic point of view. Barclay's statistics were utterly unscientific, the averages of one year being compared with the averages of ten years. He said that the whole system was calculated to sap the manliness, self-respect, and courage of our soldiers in India. (Hear, hear.)

The Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld rose to suggest that the debate might now be brought to a close. He looked upon this as the crowning point of his life, and believed that they were within a few moments of passing the resolution *nemine contradicente*.

The Speaker then put the question, and there being loud cries of "Aye" from all parts of the House and only a few faint cries of "No," declared that the Ayes had it. A few members challenged a division, and the House was accordingly cleared. Upon the Speaker again putting the question one or two members again cried "No" amid shouts of "The Ayes have it," and "Stand up" from different quarters of the House. The Speaker directed the Division Clerks to be summoned to take down the names of the "Noes," and called upon the latter to stand up in their places, but no honorable member rose, and the Speaker, amid cheers, declared the resolution carried.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE CREDENTIALS OF SCIENCE THE WARRANT OF FAITH. By JOSIAH PARSONS COOKE, M. D., Ewing Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. New York : Robert Carter and Brothers. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 324.

All that Professor Cooke has written on natural theology or on physical science is characterized by candor, clearness, breadth, and precision of thought, as well as by beauty of style and devoutness of tone. This volume consists of a series of ten lectures delivered on the Ely foundation at the Union Theological Seminary of New York city during the early spring of 1887, and afterwards repeated at the Lowell Institute in Boston. Among Professor Cooke's predecessors as lecturers on the former foundation were Sir William Dawson, President McCosh, Professor A. P. Peabody, Professor Henry Calderwood, and Professor George S. Morris. The Harvard professor may safely be said to have sustained and even heightened by this book both the reputation of the Ely lectures and that of the Lowell lectures. It would be difficult to find among the publications of the last decade in America a more timely and valuable volume than this on the present relations of faith and science.

The originality and suggestiveness of the chief course of thought in Professor Cooke's lectures will appear from the following analysis of five phases of the argument of natural theology (pp. 26-28).

Four phases of the argument of natural theology correspond to four stages in human development, — namely, the argument from might, the argument from design, the argument from beauty, and the argument from general plan. Corresponding to the recognition in nature of energy, fitness, beauty, and order, we have the inferences that might, skill, perfection, and law are the attributes of an Intelligence which created and sustains the whole. Here the scheme of natural theology ordinarily ends ; but, as it seems to us, the culminating phase of the argument, corresponding to the highest phase of human development, still remains to be stated.

The facts of Christianity as historical verities are as much subjects of natural theology as any other natural phenomena. The movements of history are phenomena of nature as well as the movements of the planets ; and considering the admitted facts of our holy religion from this point of view, what a broad basis for induction do they furnish ! Indeed, the basis is so ample that we may at once waive everything that any skeptic will question. We may admit that all the miraculous features of the narrative are myths, and that the Bible has no more authority than the plays of Shakespeare, or any other book that portrays character. Still, after all concessions, there remains the character of Jesus, the revelation of perfect holiness, the exemplar of the noblest self-sacrifice, the manifestation of the

purest love. Admit that the same traits have in some degree appeared in the founders of other religions, and even in classical literature, as they have in thousands of humble Christian lives ever since. Still, there remains the wonderful fact that this one character has transformed the world, and led to incomparably the highest and the purest civilization which the race has known. From these premises there never has been but one inference which has satisfied the mass of mankind who have come to the full knowledge of the facts, — the conclusion of that great Apostle who, himself overpowered by the force of the evidence, declared that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

Here as in every other previous phase of our argument we have simply an induction; not a demonstration, but an induction which has produced conviction in a multitude which no man can number; which has satisfied the deepest yearnings of humanity; which has given superhuman courage to martyrs, and sustained the unwavering devotion of saints. It is an induction, moreover, which has always stood the test of experience under every circumstance of life; and among its confessors have been all sorts and conditions of men, from the humblest intellect to the most gifted genius. It is never outgrown, but its power increases as men grow in wisdom and in virtue. It is an induction which opens ever fresh fields of spiritual knowledge, and directs in the way of truth. In a word, as it is the noblest induction that man has ever grasped, it is also the greatest power in the world.

We thus lay hold of the last phase of the argument of natural theology; and this we may call the argument from love. At the same time we reach the highest stage in the development of man's conception of God. How gradual but how majestic has been the progress in the education of mankind from the first! How large the result! In nature man found Energy, Fitness, Beauty, Order, and Sacrifice; and through these he has been led to recognize Might, Skill, Perfection, Law, and Love in a Supreme Intelligence.

On the vexed question whether matter contains in itself the power and potency of life or is inert, Professor Cooke says (pp. 175-177): —

It has been said that the original atoms contained the potency of all possible being; and if by this is meant that they were the beginnings of things, —

" . . . rudis indigestaque moles,
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners, congestaque eadem
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum, — "

the proposition is harmless enough, if we accept the general theory that atoms are the final result of the analysis of matter; but if it is meant that the atoms have actual creative potency, and all future being involved in their substance, in the same sense that the flower is infolded in the bud, then it is a sufficient answer to all such speculations to say that they are wholly at variance with the manifest tendency of modern science. If there be one thing more marked in that tendency than another, it is to distinguish energy and matter as two distinct and separate entities; and to regard matter as wholly inert, utterly lifeless and dead, except in so far as it is controlled and energized from without. We believe this to be the correct view, not only in regard to such manifestations of material bodies as we refer to heat, light, and electricity; but also in regard to those seemingly inherent forces which hold the parts of a body together, and determine the effects of cohesion, elasticity, and the like.

For example, we distinguish among the conditions of magnetic phenomena what

we call the "field of force." Masses of iron brought into that field — that is into any space thus conditioned — become at once magnetic, and attract or repel each other as the case may be. Now it is a plausible conception that we live in a space conditioned not only by magnetism, but by various other agencies, which may determine the cohesion and structure of solid bodies. Every year I show to my class an experiment which I never witness myself without being strongly impressed by the wonderful relations which it illustrates, and the still more wonderful relations it suggests. On the top of a board, resting on the poles of a powerful electro-magnet, I place a large, loose pile of wrought-iron nails. When the current of a dynamo-machine passes through the coil of the instrument, a magnetic field is established throughout all the space in the neighborhood of the poles; and with this the board in no way interferes, although it keeps the nails from direct contact with the magnet itself. As soon as the current passes, and the field is established, the loose nails, by their mutual attractions, — thus determined, — become a tough, plastic mass, which can be moulded into the form of an arch, or of any similar structure. But when the current is broken the magnetic virtue of the field disappears, and the structure that had been reared crumbles into nails. Analogy suggests that the atoms of matter, inert in themselves, are similarly conditioned, and that all structures would be resolved, and all forms of matter disappear, if the Presence which sustains them were withdrawn.

On the theory of evolution Professor Cooke has this very suggestive passage (p. 252) : —

I myself deprecate the present domination of the Darwinian theory, not on account of what it is in itself, but because it has for a time thrust to one side, and cast into the shade, the doctrine of "organic types" so ably and so forcibly advocated by my late teacher and colleague, Prof. Louis Agassiz, and which I believe to be the more valuable system of the two, at least in one important respect.

The conception that each of the four great families of the animal kingdom is a definite plan, a specific design, a creative thought, worked out in infinite variety, and adapted, possibly through the principles of natural selection, to varying conditions of soil or climate, is to me a far grander and more comprehensive doctrine than the one which now so exclusively prevails. The idea that types of structure are forms of thought is moreover an hypothesis which has very great intellectual reach and educational value; and for this great virtue of the older theory, Darwinism offers no sufficient substitute. When now we consider that the educational power of a scientific system is its chief element of strength, we cannot but regret that the present generation will lose much of the charm which the grand conceptions of Cuvier and Agassiz imparted to the study of natural history.

It is to be expected that a theory at once so original and so fruitful of suggestions as Darwinism should for a season control thought, and engross attention. But time may be trusted to place all human systems in their true relations; and I feel confident that the doctrine of organic types will before long exert its just influence. The new and the older conceptions are not mutually exclusive. Whatever is true in each will survive; whatever is false will be forgotten; and out of the limited hypotheses of to-day will grow the larger views of coming generations.

PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY. A Discussion of Protective Tariffs, Taxation, and Monopolies. By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Political Economy in the Johns Hopkins University. New York: Thomas V. Crowell & Co. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 222.

Professor Ely, besides his large equipment as an expert in political and social economy, has two admirable special qualifications as a writer on the problems of to-day — a profound sympathy with workingmen, and superiority to the passions and prejudices of party politics. This book of his, although popular in form and written originally as a series of articles for the newspaper press, contains many highly suggestive and strategic passages on vital matters of the highest interest to specialists in political, industrial, and social reform, as well as to the people at large.

On possible methods of sifting immigration, Professor Ely says (p. 76) :

Labor may rightfully demand that laws should be passed to keep out a low and degraded class of emigrants, who tend to lower our civilization and to throw upon us the burden of their support as paupers or criminals; and here again we come to an actual burden which rests upon our entire industry, weighing down employer and employee alike. Protection from the scum and offscouring of Europe and Asia may rightfully be demanded by all. Dr. Edward W. Bemis, a former student of mine, has made some recommendations (see "*Andover Review*," March, 1888) which seem to me worthy of commendation. He advises that the passport system be introduced as an effective method of controlling immigration, and that only those be allowed to enter our country who can bring a passport duly signed by an American consul. No passport, however, should be granted to those assisted to emigrate by any charity organization or governmental agency. Transportation to America costs so little that local European authorities find it cheaper to unload their poor and degraded upon us than to keep them at home. Already our burden for public alms is heavy, for it is estimated that one in a hundred receives charity in the United States even at this early period in our history, and the proportions of the burden will be realized by those who reflect that even the great German army includes less than one in a hundred of the population. I would say that the passport ought not only to set forth that the one to whom it is given is not aided in emigration by charity, but that he has not been a recipient of public charity for the preceding twelve months.

No passport should be given to those assisted by the agents of any land-grant railroads in the United States, or in fact by the agents of any corporation.

Passports should be granted to those over sixteen only in case they can read and write. These restrictions are the most important which occur to me. Any attempt to limit immigration so as to exclude those who hold dangerous *opinions*, is a suggestion at once so absurd and impracticable that I hope no one who reads this book will require a demonstration of its folly.

The poorer quality of a large proportion of European emigrants in recent years is seen in the sections of country from which they emigrate. Formerly German emigrants came to us from the Rhine, and the prosperous, enlightened country in the west of Germany. Now they come from the eastern parts and Polish frontiers, the most degraded part of the "Fatherland." Similarly, it is said that the poorest parts of Ireland are now sending us their surplus population, and that the Irish now coming to America are inferior to the earlier Irish emigrants.

If it is said that this sort of protection to home industry is an injustice to European countries, it can be replied that it is not improbable that we shall be able to do most for the advancement of human civilization in America if we do not load ourselves down with a too heavy weight. America has her part to play in the world's history, and if this is to be a beneficent part, it is essential that we should amply protect our own people and allow our institutions to develop naturally from within, without violent assault from alien influences. On the other hand, there are many questions which European governments must sooner or later settle for themselves, and I am not sure that we benefit humanity by receiving the worst elements they send us, and thus enabling them to prolong the existence of ancient abuses.

Professor Ely's position concerning free trade is seen in the following paragraphs, with which we do not wholly agree, but which illustrate our author's caution : —

Did free trade already exist, there is reason to believe that it would be a good thing for the country. We have superior advantages over other countries, and the strongest is not the one to suffer in competition. Farmers and workingmen are the last ones to gain by protection, and I have no doubt that both would gain were trade as free between Europe and America as between our States. However, the fact of the tariff exists, and the fact is of vast importance. Our industries have grown up under it for over seventy years, and have become more or less adjusted to an artificial state of things. Good faith requires that we should in dealing with manufacturers bear this fact in mind, and move carefully in readjusting trade relations. This is not saying that we should do nothing, but simply that rash, hasty movement should be avoided. No one has received any pledge that tariff laws would not be changed, yet it seems only fair that those who have relied upon a traditional policy should have a little time in which to adjust themselves to a new state of things. While it is true that the fears entertained in many quarters in regard to the effects of even radical tariff reform are greatly exaggerated, there can be no doubt that immediate free trade would ruin a good many manufacturers. Now our industrial life has become an organism, and you cannot injure one member without injuring the entire body. This is well established. Industrial shocks are propagated. An injury to manufacturers may involve banks, these in turn the farmers, and so on indefinitely. Industrial organism is extremely sensitive, and displacements of labor and capital are attended with a great deal of pain.

Farmers have nothing whatever to hope from protection, and as a step towards tariff reform free raw materials will be likely to benefit the general public and to produce no industrial shock. Free raw material should be accompanied by correspondingly lower duties, or even by duties a little more than proportionately lower. Whenever any article is placed on the free list, it is a clear gain, and one temptation to government by special interests is removed. A steady, persistent effort should be made to tax as few things as possible, as thus interference with trade and temptation to corruption will be reduced. A fruitful source of fraud and injustice as between various ports is caused by difficulties attending valuations. It is desirable to simplify administration by substituting in every practicable case specific for ad valorem duties.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY THE REV. DR. A. J. GORDON.

47. Are Mr. Spurgeon's criticisms of the Baptist Union justifiable?

It is not easy to answer. Being of the same persuasion with these Baptists and of the same persuasion with Mr. Spurgeon in regard to the importance of sound doctrine, we may not be able to judge impartially between the two, and therefore we have sought information from impartial sources. An eminent Presbyterian minister, in reply to our inquiries, said emphatically that so far as his own knowledge extended the English Baptists would be the last body to be charged with doctrinal unsoundness. This opinion harmonizes with Mr. Spurgeon's own judgment, expressed in a recent number of the "Sword and Trowel," that the Baptist denomination is on the whole sound.

It is natural that we should look to the Baptist leaders in making up our opinion. Dr. Alexander McLaren, of Manchester, we have heard several times named as the greatest preacher in England. The "Expositor" declares, in a recent number, that he is more widely read by young ministers, and exerts a more marked influence in forming their style than any man since Robertson. That such a man should be unimpeachably orthodox is a matter for the highest gratitude, considering the mark he is making on the rising ministry. If we inquire about the teachers of theology, the men who are moulding the young preachers, Drs. Angus and Culross and others represent the most conservative orthodoxy. If we ask who in London next to Mr. Spurgeon gather the largest congregations, Archibald Brown and Pastor Cuff respond. They are young men of the most fervent evangelical faith. If we ask for a preacher who is drawing Christians of every denomination about him by the attraction of tender spirituality, many will name Mr. Illyer of Regent's Park Chase. In fact, the men who are charged with unsoundness are few and quite unknown beyond the Atlantic; while the men of conspicuous influence and standing seem to be all on the side of strict orthodoxy.

Whether Mr. Spurgeon should have withdrawn from the Baptist Union on account of these few is a question for him to answer. In withdrawing he distinctly avows his unchanged position as a Baptist, notwithstanding Dr. Pattison, the Presbyterian editor of the "Word and Work," who, for many months, has kept up a running fire at the Baptist Union, not long since suggested that the great metropolitan preacher would find himself most at home among the Presbyterians. But reading, in this week's papers, the startling deliverances of Dr. Marcus Dodd before the Pan Presbyterian

Council, we judge that the editor of the "Word and Work" may have some home-work to do now, or at least that he may realize the force of the maxim that those living in glass houses must not throw stones. The fact is, Mr. Spurgeon is a whole denomination in himself, and will to a marked extent remain so. "The Christian Leader" recognizes this fact in an article of this week's issue on "Mr. Spurgeon and Presbyterianism," saying that "Mr. Spurgeon has often said that he believes in a *committee of one*; and if the Presbyterians were to get him they would probably discover that he is not the man to give up that notion."

London, July.

REPLY BY THE REV. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D. D., AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON.

48. *What are the prospects of Roman Catholicism in the United States?*

I am very much obliged to you for the honor conferred upon me by asking me to speak on this platform on this occasion. Perhaps I should say, first of all, lest it should be omitted, that I am in entire and hearty sympathy with the views that have been presented, by our lecturer, upon the character and teachings of Romanism, and especially upon the parochial school question.

The great surprise to me and the great wonder, as I study the history of America, is that our country is not a Roman Catholic country to-day. Romanism has made five great efforts to capture this country of ours.

In the first place, there was the effort by exploration and settlement. For a hundred years after it was discovered by Roman Catholic explorers, they had, if I may so speak, the right of way all over this continent. But Providence mysteriously reserved the Atlantic sea-board for another class of people who have come into possession of the most important part of the land.

In the second place, the Papists attempted to capture this country by the separation, dismemberment, and destruction of the early Protestant colonies. Existing upon the extreme south in considerable strength, they attempted in Maryland to separate the Protestant colonies of the South from the Protestant colonies of the middle section; and then, at Manhattan Island, by a strategic movement from the Canadas, they attempted another separation of the Protestant colonies; after that, in the State of Maine, they attempted to separate the Protestants of Nova Scotia from those of New England. This scheme also failed. God seems to have raised up the Iroquois Indians as a rampart of savagery which none of the efforts of the Jesuits could make any impression upon, and thus protected this central point at Manhattan Island from the encroachments of the Jesuits from the North. The Maryland colony faded out largely into a Protestant colony. For a considerable time the whole region of Maine was controlled by Roman Catholics, but they subsequently lost the ground.

The third attempt was by military conquest. That was the meaning of the great French and Indian wars. Having the Indians on their side, they attempted to get control of the English colonies and bring the country into subjection to France. We know the result.

The fourth effort has been by immigration, in our own day. This movement has been particularly conspicuous since about 1845. We have had some 13,000,000 of foreigners landed upon our shores since that time, and at least five eighths of the whole number, and seven eighths, probably, of the Irish, have been of Roman Catholic stock in origin. At the present time, however, we find that there are less Roman Catholics in this country, according to their enrollment, than five eighths of those who have come by immigration. In round numbers, for I cannot stop to speak in detail, some 8,000,000 of the 13,000,000 have been Roman Catholic in their origin, and that is more than the best estimate of the number of Roman Catholics at the present time, saying nothing about the natural increase during these forty odd years.

The fifth effort is by political manœuvring, about which my limited time will not allow me to speak at length.

By Protestantism we mean the evangelical Protestant churches and their members and adherents. Taking the figures of the churches as reported in their Year Books and multiplying them by three and a half, we have the number of the adherents of the evangelical Protestant churches as nearly as we can estimate it. The Rev. Robert Baird multiplied by four, but we have plenty of margin, and we will be generous.

There has been a very considerable relative increase in Romanism, as well as in the evangelical population. But we find that the unclassified population of the country now number fourteen per cent., the Roman Catholic twelve per cent., and the evangelical Protestant seventy-three per cent.

The Roman Catholics have increased from 100,000 in 1800 to 7,200,000 at the present time. That number is a little larger than the editor of the "Independent," who is quite an ecclesiastical expert, gives. Catholics have not been publishing the number of their population since 1884, and we are left, therefore, to certain other casual estimates that occur in their Year Books. But the evangelical population has increased from 1,250,000 in 1800 to a little more than 42,000,000 in the same length of time. Relatively, of course, the Roman Catholic population, when reckoned by percentages, has increased very much more than the evangelical, seventy-two fold from 1800 to 1886; while the evangelical population increased about forty fold in the same length of time. The percentage, of course, is an immense one if you reckon from 1800 down to 1886, as many do. But it seems to me that the philosophical method of investigating this progress is to look through the different periods and see if we notice any variation of any kind, and if so how it is to be accounted for. We find that since 1870 the growth has been relatively much smaller than previously. Prior to that time the percentage rolled up very rapidly, especially as compared with the evangelical population. But since 1870 there has been a manifest change. Some of the leading men in the Roman Catholic Church have been admitting of late that they are not growing as rapidly as they were formerly. Since 1870 the Roman Catholic increase was fifty-six per cent., but the evangelical population increased eighty-two per cent. [Applause.] Prior to 1870 the increase of

the Roman Catholic population was very much greater, especially from 1850 to 1870; it has increased a little more than a half since 1870, while the evangelical population has increased almost twofold in the same length of time.

In New England, to-day, the Catholic population is a little more than one fourth of the whole, that is, 1,161,000, according to their latest estimates, in place of 100,000 in 1850. Here of course we have a very great increase, and that is the reason why you feel as you do in regard to the questions that are before you here in respect to the growth of Romanism. We have here in Massachusetts, I suppose, the largest percentage of foreign-born population of any State in the Union except Wisconsin. As given in the census for 1880, some twenty-five per cent. of our Massachusetts population were actually born in foreign lands. The proportion increased from 1880 to 1885, according to the census of 1885, to about twenty-seven per cent. The census of 1885 gives us the total foreign element, that is, those persons, one or both of whose parents were foreign-born, in this State. We find in Boston 67 per cent. of the whole population either foreign-born or one or both parents foreign-born; in Fall River, 81, $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.; in Lawrence 77, $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.; in Holyoke 82, $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.; and for sixty-five towns and cities in the State, 65 per cent. This is the reason why the temperance reform moves so slowly at present, though we expect in due time our adopted fellow-citizens will come shoulder to shoulder with us, as some are already doing. Let us open the way for a cordial and full coöperation with them in that work.

From 1850 to 1870 the Roman Catholic churches increased 1,944, say 2,000 in round numbers, and the evangelical Protestant churches during that time increased 27,000. From 1870 to 1886 the Roman Catholic churches increased 1,054, — this is for the whole United States, — or about one half in the last sixteen years as compared with the previous twenty years. But the evangelical churches during the last sixteen years in the United States increased some 50,000, and in the previous twenty years increased 27,000. So you see that while the Roman Catholic churches in the last sixteen years diminished as compared with the previous twenty years, the evangelical Protestant churches went very much ahead of the previous twenty years. [Applause.]

I suppose these statistics of the churches are the most reliable statistics the Roman Catholics give us. In addition to Sadlier's "Catholic Almanac," we have Hoffman's "Catholic Almanac." They purport to give the name of every church and every chapel or station and where it is located, and every priest by name, and then they are summed up, and these have been very carefully and discriminately given. Therefore these figures are very much more reliable than the estimates merely of their population.

The total population of the country increased sixty-six per cent. from 1850 to 1870; the evangelical churches increased eighty-nine per cent., and the Roman Catholic one hundred and eighty-seven per cent. That was the period of their greatest growth. But how has it been from 1870 to 1886?

The total population increased fifty-two per cent., the evangelical Protestant population increased seventy-nine per cent., and the Roman Catholic population fifty-six per cent., a little more relatively than the growth of the whole population. These figures are based upon the most rational and discriminating estimates of their numbers.

Now, you will ask why it is that they have relatively declined, that is, that they have been growing less rapidly since 1870 than formerly. In reply, we must study the relative amount of immigration from four European countries, Ireland, Germany, Great Britain, Norway and Sweden. Norway and Sweden sent very few emigrants for a long time, and Great Britain, aside from Ireland, sent comparatively few. During this later period Scandinavian and English immigration has been increasing, and Germany has kept up a pretty large stream. One half of the Germans, probably, are Roman Catholics, but only a very small fraction of the inhabitants of Great Britain who have come by immigration are such, and none from Norway and Sweden. Seven eighths of the Irish, however, have been Roman Catholics. Ireland cannot keep up forever such an immigration as it has furnished the whole world with in recent decades. It has diminished in its population from 8,000,000 in 1840 to about 5,000,000 at the present time.

Go outside of New England, beyond the Alleghanies, and you find a vast territory, which but a little more than a hundred years ago was wholly Roman Catholic, so far as there was any religious occupancy. From Detroit down to the extreme South, and a large belt across on the southern line, that region was wholly Roman Catholic. Catholics there had everything their own way. But take that same area to-day, and what do we see? We see 4,400 Roman Catholic churches. The Presbyterians exceed them, having in the same area 5,100 churches; the two branches of the Methodist Church, North and South, have 14,000 churches, or more than three times as many as the Roman Catholic, in that same area. And then, I suppose there are twenty or thirty other denominations which are essentially Protestant, that ought to be put in. *While, therefore, Romanism has invaded New England, Protestantism has invaded the great West, and is invading it more and more.* [Applause.]

Taking the Catholic Year Book for 1887 and comparing it with the Year Book for 1886, I find there has been an actual diminution, so far as their figures go, in churches, in chapels, and stations, in priests, in parochial schools, in pupils in parochial schools, and in charitable institutions. For instance, eighty-one less churches are reported in the Year Book for 1888 than in the Year Book for 1887, two hundred and twenty-four less chapels and stations, sixty-two less priests, ninety-one less parochial schools, 26,662 less pupils in parochial schools, and 13 less charitable institutions. I mention this peculiar change as a query. I wish somebody would explain it. It is possible that there are less complete returns made now than before, but it is a little singular that in these six leading items there should be this falling off.

Years ago I had a great scare over the growth of Romanism, but I have

got bravely over it. My conviction is that there will be points where we will have difficulty; there will be very sharp contests in many localities. This school question is one of the points, and there will probably be others. But I see great modifications going on. I see that this idea that our lecturer has so ably developed, opposition to the ultramontane view, is prevailing and spreading more and more among Catholics. A common sentiment seems to be developing among leading Roman Catholic laymen that the Pope, so far as political matters are concerned, must keep his hands off from these United States. [Loud applause.] A degree of independence is growing up among Catholics and is likely to increase a great deal more. A better education will hasten it. The trouble with their education has been that they have turned the pupils around and faced them toward the mediæval ages.

But the priests find many of their people rising up in opposition to the parochial schools, and saying, as one said to Father Scully, "I cannot consent to let my children continue in your school, because they receive an inferior education; and when they go out into business, they will find themselves at a disadvantage, as compared with other American youth." And Mr. Brownson said the same thing in his *Quarterly*, before he died. He presented the confession of Roman Catholic lawyers, who had been educated in their schools, who acknowledged that they found themselves at a disadvantage in meeting the graduates of other collegiate institutions in the United States. They feel the necessity, therefore, of advancing their educational standard. But the more they do that, the better it will be for Protestantism, and the better it will be for the country. It will broaden their views, it will make them less subservient to the papacy. That they may lift up the standard higher and higher is my prayer.

Some people have been very anxious lest the Pope should come to this country. But I say let him come; it is the best thing that could be done. And I really think I would attempt to raise money to buy 10,000 acres of the best land in the United States, and make him a present of it for the seat of his government. But when he comes here, he will be a great deal less of a man than he is at Rome. [Applause.] The Pope here would lose all the prestige connected with the Eternal City, and that is a great element in its stock in trade. Let him come, and I think we can assure him that when he dies he will receive better treatment from the American people than Pio Nono did from his Italian subjects when he came to be buried.

Let us never give way on any point of essential Protestantism, and let us rejoice that this great movement is going on as it is.

There is likely to be an effort of the papacy to capture the United States in the line of political manœuvring. But there is a growing sentiment among the Catholics that the Pope must keep his hands off from American politics. Father McGlynn's coming forth in the way he did has been a manly protest against the interference of the local church authorities in political matters. [Applause.]

EDITORIAL NOTES.

DR. STORRS, Dr. William M. Taylor, Professor Schaff, and Dr. Buckley spoke recently in New York, in a meeting called to advance the interests of the American Church at Berlin. The same cause has been advocated in Boston by Professor Bowne, Dr. McKenzie, Dr. Moxom, Mr. Cook, and others, at a meeting at Park Street Church. It was presented in Saratoga, at a meeting in the Presbyterian Church by Chancellor McCracken, Mr. Cook, Professor Herrick Johnson, and Professor Stuckenberg. We most cordially second the powerful appeal made in this number by Professor Stuckenberg, for assistance in what Dr. Storrs very justly calls a great, beautiful, and needful work.

Professor Stuckenberg was born in Germany in 1835, but came to America in his early youth. He was graduated at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ill., in 1857, and studied at Halle, Göttingen, Berlin, and Tübingen. After having been a pastor in Iowa and Pennsylvania, he became chaplain of the 145th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and was in active service in the Battle of Gettysburg. He was theological professor in Wittenberg College from 1873 to 1880. Since 1881 he has had charge of the American Chapel at Berlin. He is an eminent specialist in various branches of philosophy and theology. Among his well-known and highly valued publications are "The Life of Immanuel Kant," London, 1882; and an "Introduction to the Study of Philosophy," New York, 1888. Mrs. Professor Stuckenberg, who is now in this country conducting a canvass for funds for the American Church at Berlin, was born at Erie, Pennsylvania, and is a lady of rare accomplishments and endowments. The social meetings conducted under her care at Professor Stuckenberg's house on Sunday evenings in Berlin have not only attracted American students in great numbers, but drawn out also, in various addresses on the most vital themes, several of the most powerful and brilliant minds among the University professors and authors in the intellectual centre of the German Empire.

The American Church in Berlin deserves vigorous support from all the Evangelical Churches of the United States for three reasons: 1. Although in Europe, it has a great and unmatched opportunity of usefulness in America. 2. It is an enterprise that is now and is likely to remain in good hands. 3. As it is a church of sojourners and students, it cannot reasonably be expected to pay its own bills.

SENATOR BLAIR, of New Hampshire, introduced in the Senate of the United States, May 25, 1888, the following joint resolution, proposing an amendment to the constitution of the United States respecting establish-

ments of religion and free public schools. The resolution was read twice and ordered to lie on the table.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the States as provided in the constitution :

ARTICLE.

SECTION 1. No State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

SEC. 2. Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion. But no money raised by taxation imposed by law, or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school, institution, corporation, or person, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society, being, or claiming to be, religious in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances, be taught or inculcated, in the free public schools.

SEC. 3. To the end that each State, the United States, and all the people thereof, may have and preserve governments republican in form and in substance, the United States shall guaranty to every State, and to the people of every State and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided.

SEC. 4. Congress shall enforce this article by legislation when necessary.

We cordially indorse the following remarks of our esteemed contemporary, "The Christian Statesman," of Philadelphia, concerning Senator Blair's proposed amendment : —

The foregoing resolution should receive the strenuous support of all American Christians for the following reasons : —

1. The first section simply extends to the States the same restriction which is now laid upon Congress as to establishments of religion. Nothing at present forbids any State to establish some sect as the state church and endow it at the expense of other sects. Such state establishments continued in Massachusetts and Virginia long after the Constitution was adopted. Utah, once admitted as a State, might establish Mormonism, or New Mexico might establish Popery, since there is no safeguard in the constitution to prevent it.

2. The restriction already laid upon Congress as to establishments of religion has, in the absence of any religious declarations in that instrument, been sometimes understood in a sense unfriendly to religion. There has been some reason for this interpretation. The only expressions in the constitution touching religion are prohibitory. No word or clause intimates the nation's faith in God, acknowledges his authority, or renders Him

homage. Both President Jefferson and President Jackson declined to appoint a day of fasting in time of public danger and sorrow, although requested by bodies of citizens to do so, because they deemed themselves prohibited, under the constitution, from any act or observance which involved the official recognition of religion. This construction of the constitution would be expressly renounced and rendered impossible by this proposed amendment if it should be adopted; for, while prohibiting the *establishment* of any religion, it recognizes the Christian religion as the religion of the nation and instruction in the Christian religion as included in the purpose of the public schools. This limits and defines the prohibition of the previous section as applying to ecclesiastical establishments in harmony with the prohibition of sectarian instruction in the second section.

3. The provision that each State shall establish and maintain a public school system, adequate to the education of all its children of school age, is thoroughly American, and, to our mind, every way unobjectionable. It is simply the imbedding in our fundamental law of one of the best considered and most universally approved features of our social system. Ignorance on the part of the citizens of any State is a national peril; and the nation, therefore, has the right to provide against it. The recognition of the Christian religion as part of the instruction to be given in the schools is also in thorough accord with our national history, with the history of our school system, and with its prevailing character at the present time. The Bible is read in the great majority of our schools. Our school literature is drawn largely from Christian sources. The morality inculcated and enforced in our school discipline is Christian morality. The effort in many places to divorce our public education from the Christian religion is un-American and revolutionary, and it would be the wisest kind of statesmanship to arrest it now and by such a constitutional amendment as is here proposed. The simple provision in the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, schools shall be established," etc., was copied into the constitutions of most of the States formed out of that territory and has wrought most beneficently through their whole history. Among the blessings which the States of the Ohio Valley acknowledge in their great Centennial Exposition just inaugurated at Cincinnati, there is none more precious than the Christian education which has grown up under this wise provision. It is true that in Cincinnati itself, and in other places, the Bible and religious worship have been driven out of the public schools, and that the Supreme Court of Ohio justified the change on the ground that the word "religion" did not necessarily mean the Christian religion, and that therefore distinctively Christian instruction could not be vindicated under the constitution of the State. Senator Blair's amendment is not thus ambiguous, and the action of the Cincinnati School Board and the decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio furnish strong reasons why it should be adopted.

4. The proposed prohibition of sectarian instruction in any school sup-

ported by the public money is righteous and wise and particularly seasonable at the present time. It expresses the judgment of all the friends of our public school system and of our national Christianity. It would put an instant and effectual stop to all the endeavors of the Roman Catholics to secure the partition of the school funds for the support of their parochial schools. Every friend of our school system should exert himself to the utmost to secure the adoption of this most needful provision.

We do not now express our judgment as to whether all these most important declarations are set forth in exactly the best possible terms in this resolution. Perhaps they are. Possibly discussion may suggest some amendment. But we do say, frankly and earnestly, that no measure has been before Congress for years in which was wrapped up so much possible good for the nation, and which had such strong claims on the attention and support of the citizens of the country.

THE REV. DR. DEEMS has issued the following eloquent and powerful letter, some of the replies to which we think it our duty to print as a part of our record of expert opinion concerning current reform:—

CHURCH OF THE STRANGERS,
4 WINTHROP PLACE,
NEW YORK, July 23, 1888.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — On all hands it is admitted that the saloon is the greatest curse of this city and this land. There is nothing so important in all the range of political economy as the question of the destruction of the rum traffic. There is nothing that so stands in the way of the progress of the gospel. Multitudes of the best thinkers believe that all other evils combined do not present so huge and strong an opposition to the progress of Christianity as the rum traffic.

In view of this unanimity of opinion as to the evil, the paramount question for every Christian thinker must be admitted to be, What is my duty in the premises?

For myself, the following considerations appear to produce the answer:—

1. I must do all I can personally to destroy this evil traffic.
2. No law is operative in this country which does not secure the support of a majority of the voters in the district covered by that law.
3. I must, therefore, do what I can to bring a majority of my fellow-voters to favor a law which prohibits the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits as beverages.
4. The education of my fellow-citizens on the line of ethical thinking and practical action must be promoted by me by all proper means at my command.
5. The ballot-box marks the progress and assists powerfully in the education of sentiment on all political subjects in my country. The government pays no attention to anything but the ballot. I must, therefore, do all I can to bring the question of the destruction of the traffic to the ballot-box.
6. This can be done only at legally appointed elections.
7. I must, therefore, coöperate sincerely and industriously with all those men who are laboring to bring this question repeatedly to the ballot-box.
8. But no question can be so brought except by some political party. This binds me to work with any political party, of whatever name, which commits

itself to the earnest prosecution of the work of destroying the traffic in intoxicating beverages.

9. I find such a party, and only one such a party, that named the Prohibition party.

10. In no party can I find all the men and measures thereof entirely agreeable to my tastes. But if I can find a party which devotes its energies to the extirpation of an evil which threatens my religion more than all the infidelity and heathenism on the planet; which threatens my home more than all the plagues and pestilences on earth, and which threatens my country more than all conspiracies, seditions, and rebellions, it becomes my duty — my bounden, paramount duty — as a patriotic Christian citizen, to coöperate openly and industriously with that party.

My conscience then tells me that I must coöperate with the Prohibition party. I think mine an enlightened conscience. I know a number of conscientious men who have reached the same conclusion by the same line of thought. They may be in error. I may have made some mistake. You know me, and you believe that I am sincere, and God *knows* that I am.

It is unnecessary for me to tell you that no letter of *mine* could be addressed to you with any sinister motive. I have a sincere and cordial respect for your ability and piety. I throw myself upon your fraternal regard. Tell me if I am wrong in this matter. Show me wherein. And, because thousands of true men are in my state of mind, and on the greatest question of the age, Christian ministers should be heard. Be pleased to write what I may publicly use, according to your trust in my judgment, and greatly oblige

Yours fraternally and faithfully,

CHARLES F. DEEMS.

Professor A. P. Peabody, of Harvard University, replies as follows:—

I feel with you as regards the evil of intemperance, and the dangerous influence — ruinous if not checked — of the liquor business on our social and political well-being. But I have no faith in the attempt at prohibition, except by the action of individual municipalities. I am familiar with the action of prohibitory laws in Maine and in New Hampshire. Rev. Dr. (ex-president) Hill, a life-long worker in the temperance cause, says that drunkenness is more rife in Portland than in any other place within his knowledge. [It is an important advance, however, that the prohibitory law is executed in the rural districts of Maine, and that there is not a legalized dramshop in the whole State.] I lived last summer in Portsmouth, N. H., where the sale of strong drink is as free as that of salt or sugar, yet under the most stringent of prohibitory laws. On the other hand, we have seen in Cambridge what prohibition under a local option law can do. The reformation transcends the warmest hopes of its advocates. The sale is made so difficult as to have been almost wholly suppressed, and it is not too much to say that only the confirmed drunkards, who have enterprise enough to go to Boston for their drink, continue to drink. I would do anything and everything in behalf of a local option law where there is not one. [But a prohibitory law for State or nation is only a local option law on a large scale.] I would not lift my finger in behalf of a state or a national prohibitory law, for laws of that kind can be executed only where the people of the town or city want to have them executed, and will choose city or town officers to carry out their will. [But a state or national prohibitory party, when once in power, may be trusted as safely as a town prohibitory party, to execute prohibitory laws.]

Meanwhile, I feel more and more that the gravamen of our efforts ought to be to make drunkenness itself penal and disgraceful. The demand will insure a supply, and there will be no efficient and enduring reform till drunkenness is treated by the law and by society as a crime on the same footing with larceny, and the youth who forms intemperate habits has the certainty of being shut up in the penitentiary, and excluded from all decent society.

Although the "Independent," which in the last presidential election supported the Prohibitionists, now supports the Republican party, the Rev. Dr. W. H. Ward, its chief editor, replies to Dr. Deems as follows:—

The logic of the situation does not seem to me quite so easy as it does to you. There is an omitted link or two between your premise, that the saloon is the greatest of evils and must be conquered by the ballot, and your conclusion that its suppression must be by the Prohibition party. You connect the premise with the conclusion by the link which asserts that in a republic no question can be brought to decision except by a political party. That statement is so tremendously false, and has been so superabundantly proved false, by the history of this very Prohibition movement, that I am astonished any one can make the assertion you do. In nearly half the States of the Union, general or county prohibition has been tried; and in not one of these cases has the result been secured by a special Prohibition party. In most of the States restriction, more or less severe, has been tried, and the result has in not one case been achieved by a Prohibition party. It is abundantly proved that the people are willing to respond, without distinction of party, or nationality, or race, to appeals for temperance legislation, and that a special party for this end is not needed. Indeed, I have no doubt that the energy put into the organizing of the machinery of a Prohibition party, if devoted to securing prohibition simply, would have secured much better results. Party prohibition has no results in legislation to show. Its victories are all yet in a problematic future. Who can imagine an anti-slavery party to have risen thirty years ago, if the old parties, or the people in both parties, had been as ready to respond to anti-slavery appeals and limit and abolish slavery as the people have been to limit or abolish liquor-selling?

Nevertheless, it is not at all unlikely that I shall vote the Prohibition national ticket. I shall not vote the State Prohibition ticket in New Jersey, as the Republican party has done well in that State last year, a Republican legislature having given us a local option law. In that State the Prohibition party has practically done, I think, more harm than good, so far as direct action is concerned. But the Prohibition party, through God's silly people, yet gives evidence of having an earnest moral purpose, notwithstanding much political nonsense. That party's relation to restriction by what is falsely called high license, is illogical and absurd, but it is based upon a conscientious scruple, though one that is led astray by a mere verbal blunder. High license is not license at all; it is only a tax. So the ridiculous protest of the Prohibition platform against the internal revenue whiskey tax is really in the interest of the liquor drinker, though not of the liquor seller. But the party means well; it is only silly. I would rather be with silly people than with indifferent or ill-disposed people. The Republican platform declares that, rather than give up any part of the protection principle, it will give us free whiskey at twenty-five cents a gallon. This is not silliness; it is blindness to moral conditions. I prefer folly to knavery.

The platform of the Republican party, with which I have always voted, at-

tempts to befog and befool the public, asserting that there is a great issue of protection and free trade before the country, when, President Cleveland to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no such issue. Both parties are compelled, willy nilly, to give us a very large amount of protection. The only question, so far as protection is concerned, is as to the adjustment of the protective tariff, matters of mere expediency, determining whether four or five per cent., more or less, shall be taken off of the tariff, so as to adjust it to our required income. I consider the present political issue between the two great parties a dishonest one, made up to deceive the people, the dishonesty being principally on the Republican side. When we add to this the unpatriotic and unworthy position of the Republican platform on Chinese and contract labor, and its unscientific position on bimetalism, and then remember that it shows no earnest purpose to reduce the taxation to the necessities of expenditure, but rather seems desirous to increase expenditure, so as to use up the superfluous receipts, the view is quite depressing to those who have looked upon the party as one which regarded principles and not temporary and local expediences.

I look with no more favor on the Democratic party. Its pretense of free trade is ignorant humbug. It has no wish for free trade. Nor has it, nor the Republican party, any wish for a civil service divorce from politics. Whether Mr. Cleveland wishes it is not clear. He has no very intelligent desire that way. The one thing in favor of the Democratic party is that it seems really to want to reduce the income of the government to an economical figure. That should give us a heavy tax on the vices, alcohol and tobacco, by internal revenue, shutting up all small stills, which are a greater evil than any "whiskey ring;" and then the chief part of the income by protective tariff, and such a tariff would be sufficient for all legitimate protection. The natural tendency of the Republican party is better than that of the Democratic, more kindly to saloon restriction or suppression, to unpartisan civil service, to ballot reform, to decent treatment of Chinamen and other immigrants, but not to economical national administration. My long sympathy yet goes to the Republican party, but I deeply regret its moral decadence, as sadly shown in its platform, which ignores the moral issues and substitutes those of weak policy. I have a hearty dislike for the present position of each of the two great parties, and no intellectual respect for the third. I dearly wish we had a party in the field whose platform and inflexible policy would be:—

I. Adjustment of income to an economical expenditure.

II. Temperance legislation.

III. Non-partisan civil service.

IV. Ballot reform, North and South.

I say that it would not be strange if I should vote for my friend General Fisk, but I also remember that General Harrison is a profound temperance man, and a hundredfold better than the mushy and slushy platform on which he can hardly stand without sinking. (See "The Voice," August 16 and 23.)

THE REV. W. F. DAVIS, whose sentence to a year's imprisonment for preaching on the Common without permission of the mayor, has brought out, at home and abroad, from both the secular and religious press, so many criticisms of the municipal government of Boston, was released by expiration of sentence, September 6th. The obnoxious law, against which such vigorous protests were made last winter by eminent professors and prominent preachers, lawyers and business men, continues in force. The follow-

ing interview with Mr. Davis from the "Boston Advertiser" we place on record as indicating what treatment he received in prison.

"This is where Rev. W. F. Davis has his headquarters?" queried an "Advertiser" reporter of the "sentinel at the outer gate" of Charles Street jail yesterday morning. A very brief nod was the reply, accompanied by the words:—

"Go across the yard, up those steps yonder, and ask for him in the office."

The man in the office directed the reporter to the rotunda, and the officer here in turn directed him to cell 20, where Mr. Davis was found. He is a tall man with black eyes, hair, and beard, and somewhat pale from confinement. He greeted his visitor cordially.

"My term of imprisonment, as I understand it, expires to-morrow; that is, if I am granted an allowance for good behavior. There is a technical point about it which is to be decided by the court, and this decision will be given on the 6th," said he in answer to a query.

"And what has been your treatment during your imprisonment?" was asked.

"I have frequently been asked to make a statement for publication regarding my treatment, but I always declined to do so, for I did not wish to seem to complain. I was put here to be persecuted, as I said once to Sheriff O'Brien. I have been treated with the utmost kindness for several months past, in fact almost with ostentatious kindness."

"But how was it at the outset?"

"I do not know any good reason why I should not tell thee now, so long as thou hast taken the trouble to ask. When I was arrested it was about one o'clock in the afternoon. I had breakfasted at home, but had not dined.

"I was taken to the Tombs, and locked up in company with a number of ordinary criminals. The cell in which I was placed was exceedingly foul, so that I could not sit down. Other prisoners asked for matches and they were supplied. They lighted their pipes and filled the air with the foul odor. It was August, and the air was very oppressive; but when I asked to have a window opened my request was unheeded. At about three o'clock I was thrust into the Black Maria and taken to jail in company with a crowd of criminals.

"At the jail I was put at once into a cell, and no food was furnished me until the next morning, and then only bread and water. This was before my trial. When I had been incarcerated three days the turnkey said to me roughly:—

"Do you think you can make them try your case by coming in here? I'll let you know they can keep you here a year without trying you if they want to."

"I replied, 'If they do it will be their own act, and men are responsible for their acts.' When I was first locked up I was searched and my knife taken away, the turnkey saying that I might want to cut my throat if he left it with me. I remained in close confinement, on prison fare, locked in day and night, for a week. Then I was taken out for trial.

"After my trial and sentence I was returned and confined in cell 12. This is one of the cells in 'murderers' row.' I was treated exactly like the other occupants of cells in this row; was not allowed to leave the cell for a moment on any pretext, and was allowed to communicate with none of the prisoners. There were no printed rules of the prison posted in the cells, and I had no means of knowing what the rules were. By the way, the day before ex-President Hayes and the delegates to the prison congress visited the jail the rules were posted in each cell. My wife came to see me, and was allowed to talk with me only through

the bars, and under the surveillance of an officer. She was told that she might thereafter visit me once in three months, and write me once a month only.

"After remaining in cell 12 for two or three days I was removed to cell 18, on the tier above; but here the vigilance was not relaxed. I was kept in this cell in close confinement for seven weeks; I was allowed only the prison fare, with the only exception that I was allowed to send out and buy milk. The fare was bread and water only, in the morning and at night; at noon I had a dinner of meat or soup and potatoes.

"All my correspondence was opened before it was delivered to me. I have no means of knowing whether it was suppressed, and have no reason to think that any was; but it was all opened.

"The air of the cell was impure, and I suffered much from this cause as well as from the close confinement and from the food; at times the bread was sour. The officer would come along in the morning and throw a loaf on the floor at my door, and fill my pail with water. Under this treatment my health began to decline rapidly; I grew pale and haggard, and at last I had an attack of the scurvy.

"At length, after I had been in close confinement in my cell for seven months, my counsel, Mr. Perkins, called, and was allowed to see me. He at once saw my condition, and went to Sheriff O'Brien with the request that I be allowed to take exercise in the yard. The sheriff had me brought to his office, and asked me if I had any complaint to make of my treatment.

"I told him that I had not complained and did not complain; that I was put here to be persecuted for righteousness' sake, and that it was not for me to complain.

"The result of the interview was that I was allowed to go into the yard in the custody of an officer for an hour or two each day. But the restrictions from that day have been gradually lessened, until now my cell door is never locked day or night, and I go into the yard when I like, although still nominally in charge of an officer. I have also been allowed to receive food sent in by my wife and other friends. My mail, too, is delivered intact, and on the whole I am having quite a pleasant time. You see my cell is large and airy, and I am very comfortable. I shall go out now in a day or two, but I am not so particular about it as my friends are."

"How will it be, Mr. Davis, about preaching on the Common in the future?"

"I don't know why I should not preach on the Common if occasion calls."

"Shall you ask a permit?"

"I never shall. Good-by."

OUR DAY:

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VALID GROUND FOR SABBATH OBSERVANCE.

AN ADDRESS BY THE REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, NEW YORK CITY.

THE workingmen of the United States and of Europe are demanding a stricter Sabbath observance. Recent agitations to this end have originated, in most instances, not in churches, but in labor unions, and have been prosecuted, not in the name of religion, but in that of philanthropy. *Socialism is leading a renaissance of Puritanism.* Let not the heirs of the Puritans, then, undervalue the efforts of those who have the restless holiday Sunday and are seeking to put in its place the British-American Sabbath of quiet rest, a golden mean between the Puritan Sabbath on the one extreme and the Continental Sunday on the other.

The recent humanitarian movements toward a stricter Sabbath observance are a striking illustration of that Scripture saying about God's laws, "His commandments are not grievous." Christians tunneling from one side of the mountain for the glory of God, and workingmen tunneling from the other side for their own good, meet at the Fourth Commandment. This is found to be as fully in harmony with the nature of man and the necessities of society as any other of the Ten Commandments, on which, it should be remembered, all Christian governments rest. Justinian, Charlemagne, and Alfred based their legal codes on the Decalogue. One reason why the Sabbath law

and other Bible laws are considered burdensome is that many fail to understand that religion is only living in accordance with nature; conversion being like the setting of dislocated bones, restoring them to their proper place and functions. The Fourth Commandment, at least, is a "natural law in the spiritual world." A restful change one day in seven from one's usual labors and amusements is found to be required, not only by the laws of church and state, not only by the laws of the Old Testament and the New, but *also by the laws of nature*. Sabbath rest is good, not only for our spiritual nature, but also for animal nature in man and beast, and even for machinery.

The failures and successes of workingmen, in their recent efforts to secure a more restful Sabbath, point out clearly *the only defensible ground of Sabbath observance* which it is all important for both the friends of God and the friends of man to find and fortify. To show what this ground is, not by Scripture, not by abstract theorizing, but by "the philosophy that teaches by example," is my present purpose.

The efforts of workingmen in Continental Europe and in our own country during the past four years to check the rapid increase of needless Sunday work are a practical study of *the holiday Sunday, which, in its ecclesiastical basis, denies any divine authority to the Sabbath, and aims, on grounds of mere expediency, by human laws alone, to shut out labor while admitting amusements*.

What do the facts of recent history show as to the relation of Sunday amusements to Sunday work?

In 1886 the Italian legislators made a law requiring that children employed in factories should each rest one day of each week. The movement was inaugurated by a minister, but supported by the Hygienic Society and several workingmen's organizations. Note that these societies did not venture to ask even this irregular one seventh of time for rest for any toilers except *children — in factories*.

In 1885 Austria-Hungary, in response to the bitter cry of Sabbathless toilers, enacted a stringent Sunday law, which emancipated even printers from Sunday work — for a Sabbath or two. Then Greed recaptured his fugitive slaves. That law,

however, serves one purpose at least: it stands as that nation's confession to the world that the Continental Sunday, the holiday Sunday, is to many a day of needless toil. Those who know the Continental Sunday best, it will be seen, have the same opinion of it that the Quaker had of a bad neighbor, of whom his opinion was asked. He replied, "*He would make a tip-top stranger.*"

The reaction against the Sunday work of the Continental Sunday is even stronger in Germany than in Austria or Italy. In Stuttgart, 600 shop-keepers have engaged to close their shops on the Sabbath. In Carlsruhe a second carrier delivery of letters on that day has been stopped. In Alsace-Lorraine public houses have been closed till noon by a new law. In 1886 a thousand carpenters of Berlin sent the following petition to the German Chancellor for protection against Sunday work: "Prince Bismarck: You have declared that you will not legally forbid Sunday work until convinced by the voice of the laborers that they demand rest on that day. Here, then, is their voice. We declare explicitly that we desire a law which will grant us protection in the enjoyment of freedom from work on Sunday. Sunday labor leads to misery, crime, and vagabondism." Bismarck, instead of aiding German workingmen to recover their Sunday rest, blocked them, not only in Parliament, but also by his own bad example in keeping the employees in his brandy factories at work seven days in the week. A commission appointed by the German government to investigate this matter of Sunday work finds 57 per cent. of those employed in factories and 77 per cent. of those engaged in trade and transportation regularly work on Sunday. No remedy is suggested. Even conservative German papers declare that nothing can be done at present except to educate public opinion. Unless they are blind to the lessons of recent history, they will not begin that education with Luther, whose lax views on this point are the door through which labor and lust have invaded the German Sunday. They will rather begin with the Fourth Commandment. This rejected stone must become the head of the corner in any successful defense of Sabbath rest. As a permit for "beer only" always admits whiskey in its shadow, so a permit for Sunday sport always includes Sunday work.

In France, where many laborers are seen working in the fields and at their trades during the Sunday holiday, — those not at work making it a day of riot, — workingmen are placing their demands for Sabbath rest on socialistic and selfish grounds, but with as little success as in Germany. No wonder that travelers in France see no *old* carpenters, no *old* stonecutters, no *old* shoemakers! No wonder French workingmen, even while they live, do less work with seven working days per week than Englishmen with six!

At a Socialistic Congress held at Ghent in Belgium, 1886, one of the chief demands was for Sunday rest.

In Holland, also, workingmen are even now making a desperate effort for emancipation from Sunday work. "The Independent," of February 17, 1887, says of this movement: "The measures proposed in Holland are characteristic of the whole European phase of the problem. No work is to be allowed that is open to public view; no sales of any sort shall be made in public, with the exception of eatables; no places of public amusement shall be open before eight o'clock in the evening; nor are intoxicating drinks to be sold near churches in case worship is being conducted in them, nor anywhere before noon. The government declares that it is impossible to forbid all work on Sunday, or to close all places of amusement, as this is the only day of recreation which these laboring men can enjoy; and that the object of this legislation should be merely to prevent any disturbance of public worship."

British workingmen in 1886, as before, protested against Sunday opening of museums, and continued to favor the Sunday closing of saloons, recognizing that not only the coarse Sunday amusement of the saloon, but also the more civilized Sunday amusement of the museums, imperil Sunday rest by secularizing the day. The latest movements of British workingmen were petitions to Parliament to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee by emancipating all British postmen from Sunday deliveries, and to secure the closing of saloons on Sunday.

Even in our own West and Southwest, where the holiday Sunday prevails only in a varioloid form, workingmen are asking emancipation from the ever-increasing Sunday work. For

instance, in La Crosse, not long since, the Norwegians formed a Law and Order League to enforce the Sunday laws. Saloons had been suffered to keep open as a part of the holiday Sunday. Some of the dealers in better goods, unwilling to lose their share of the Saturday night's wages, claimed the same sufferance. Their competitors in the same line of goods felt it necessary to do the same in self-defense, until nearly all the retail merchants and their clerks had lost their Sabbath rest, and gained nothing in return. They were simply doing seven days' work for six days' profits. The movement of the Law and Order League was an attempt to recapture the lost rest. The liquor dealers, being closed out, retaliated by enforcing the law against the horse-cars, and seem to have accomplished their purpose, as in many other places, stopping enforcement by enforcement.

No State should keep in its Sabbath law any restrictions whose enforcement can be used to nullify the whole law. Toronto proves that Sunday horse-cars are not a work of necessity. They are "man-killers," as now managed. But until public conscience (I do not say "public sentiment") is educated to condemn the Sunday horse-cars as wronging both God and man, it would be better to be content with a law *forbidding any conductor or driver to work on more than six days per week* (which could be arranged by the use of *one seventh* more men), and so give back to conductors and drivers, by the law of supply and demand, a week's wages for six days' work, and a seventh of time for rest, rather than to keep the law against Sunday horse-cars on the statute books for no other use than the defense of rum-sellers and the defeat of Sabbath enforcement.

That La Crosse movement has this bearing on my main argument: as a signal to "hold the fort" of our quieter Sabbath, it shows us of the East, how a holiday Sunday soon becomes a working day even in the smaller cities of our own country, and even where it is tolerated, against statute law, only by the law of custom.

In Chicago, in 1887, a much more significant exhibition of the tendencies of the holiday Sunday to ever-increasing toil was made in a movement to secure from the state legislature a

stricter law against opening shops and stores on the Sabbath, in which the Knights of Labor and labor unions participated. Assemblies and associations of clerks, barbers, butchers, and other trades joined with the Sabbath Association in mass meetings and other forms of agitation for the rescue of their lost Sabbath rest.

At Cincinnati, in 1886, a mass meeting of 1,500 Germans, chiefly workingmen, adopted strong resolutions in favor of the enforcement of the Sunday law and the protection of the day for rest and worship, a counter-blast to another meeting of Germans of the baser sort antagonizing the "Puritanical Sabbath laws." This German meeting in support of the Sunday laws shows that some of our Germans have heard from their Fatherland on the Sunday question.

Another confession that the holiday Sunday is a burden is the fact that Louisiana, on January 1, 1887, put in force her first real Sunday law. About all the good this lax law can do is to warn other States not to get into the slough of Sabbathless toil by following the will-o'-wisp of Sunday amusements. This new law requires all shops, saloons, and places of public business to be closed at twelve o'clock Saturday night, and remain closed continuously for twenty-four hours, during which time all business in them is declared illegal. From its operations are excepted all newspaper offices, printing offices, book stores, drug stores, apothecary shops, undertaker shops, public and private markets, bakeries, dairies, livery stables, railroads, whether steam or horse, hotels, boarding houses, steamboats and other vessels, warehouses for receiving and forwarding freight, telegraph offices, and theatres and other places of amusement. If the reformed Sunday at New Orleans leaves so many at work seven days in the week, what must it have been before it turned over the new leaf!

In Newport News, Virginia, the organ of the colored people in 1887 protested against the Sunday labor of that port. In Washington, about the same time, the barber assembly of the Knights of Labor inaugurated a crusade for the Sunday closing of barber shops. In Baltimore the Carriage-drivers' Association joined with the Undertakers' Association to prevent

Sunday funerals except in cases of necessity. In Reading, Pennsylvania, the barbers have themselves attempted to enforce Sunday closing of barber shops. The extensive reduction of Sunday trains on the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1886 was doubtless due in part to labor agitation. In Newark and Orange, New Jersey, Law and Order Leagues have in recent years enforced the Sabbath laws in the interests of workingmen, and with their coöperation.

In New York, in recent years, workingmen have made unprecedented efforts to secure emancipation from the Sunday work which they have partly brought on themselves by secularizing the day with labor-union meetings and picnics. Hatters, shoe-salesmen, bakers, grocers' clerks, dry goods clerks, book-keepers, barbers, have all recently made their protest against the needless Sunday work required of them, and have secured several spasms of law enforcement, chiefly useful in two ways: first, in showing that the police *can* enforce good laws when they *will*; second, that even the American Sabbath has been very seriously invaded by the needless toil which has marched in on the heels of Sunday sport. In New York, as elsewhere, workingmen are finding that where they require or allow their fellows to work on the Sabbath for their amusement, their own turn to work comes erelong. Casting out religion from the Sabbath they cast out rest. Every act of the workingmen in secularizing the Sabbath for recreation, in the expressive words of another, "rivets the collar of Sunday labor more tightly around their necks." Strangely enough, New York's "Reform mayor" proposed to reform the Fourth Commandment by permitting the Sunday afternoon sale of beer at the very period when its workingmen were crying for emancipation from the Sunday toil that even milder Sunday amusements had introduced. A quiet Sabbath forenoon of protected rest and worship can no more coexist with a Sunday afternoon half-holiday, filled with beer and public amusements, than two hostile national governments can coexist in these United States. The perversity of the mayor's demand for the Sunday opening of the museums, which was urged at first on the ground that the workingmen had "no other day" to gratify their thirst for art,

now appears in that his bulldozing of the museum trustees continues just the same since the Saturday half-holiday law has taken away his only plausible argument. This anxious but not astute politician seems to forget that the infidels who got up the petition for Sunday opening (even that was before the Saturday half-holiday) are more noisy than numerous, and are outnumbered, even at the polls, ten to one, by those connected with churches, Catholic and Protestant, that oppose Sunday opening as endangering Sabbath rest.

The recent reduction of Sunday trains by law in Connecticut, by which ten thousand railroad men were set free from Sunday toil, is another significant item in the general reaction against increasing Sunday work. All over New England we hear the watchword, "The barber's Sunday," another bitter cry from seven-day toilers, demanding their rightful rest. The contradictory decisions in Massachusetts courts, one declaring that shaving on Sunday at a barber-shop *is*, and another that it is *not*, "a work of necessity," have prompted the suggestive remark that "Justice," so far from being "blind," can see *two ways at once*. There are many other illustrations of this which suggest that the definition and enumeration of "works of necessity" should be as far as possible done by the legislature, not left to police courts.

All efforts of workingmen to resist the invasion of the Sabbath by toil, while admitting amusement, have been and must be in vain, for the ground of the holiday Sunday is indefensible.

Its central position is too low, namely, that the Fourth Commandment is abrogated, and that Sabbath observance has no higher authority than the state, or at most the state and church and apostolic example. God and conscience, the mightiest of all defenders of the true Sabbath, are thus left out of the battle, and it is made a mere contest of human opinions. Whether a recognition of the divine authority of the Sabbath law is put into the public statutes or not, it must be put by the church into the *public conscience*, or the Sabbath cannot be successfully defended even against needless toil. This much of the art of defense has been taught us by defeat in many costly lessons.

Where even the pulpit teaches that the Sabbath has no higher authority than church and state, and no law of observance more definite than apostolic example (which is wholly silent on the two burning questions of Sunday labor and Sunday amusements), where the teachers of religion get their proof texts for Sabbath observance out of the human gospel of utility or selfishness (of whose *inutility* its child, the holiday Sunday, is a shining example), by what bulwark can the charge of galloping Greed be repelled from the Sabbath? If Sunday be only a human holiday, it is impossible to show that one man has not as much right to use it for work as another for sport. This right is not denied by Protestants on any other holiday. The battle being wholly on the ground of expediency, Greed defends its Sunday excursion in our country, and its Sunday factory in Germany, on the ground that each is better than Sunday in the saloons. If Sabbath rest be only a matter of expediency, the argument for Sunday in the shop rather than the saloon is sound, though the similar argument applied to Sunday excursions is *not*, for Sunday excursions are mostly only moving saloons.

While the centre of the holiday Sunday's position is weak in the lack of authority, its *flanks* are weak in their permissions, on the one side, for *some* public amusements; on the other, for *some* forms of needless labor. The labor or business which the holiday Sunday permits by law is mostly that which is supposed to be essential to public amusement. In order that others may be amused, railroad men, newspaper men, bakers, butchers, tobacconists, confectioners, barbers, bootblacks, drivers, florists, and in many cases liquor-dealers, are allowed to work their employees seven days in the week. It is on the heels of these exceptions, and through the same breach in the wall, that every other form of toil comes into the Sabbath. And why should it not? If a man cannot buy his Sunday cigars and caramels over night, why may he not insist on having his new shoes and new hat also on Sunday morning, "hot from the griddle"?

It is a fact of history that wherever a breach has been made in the wall of the Sabbath to let in Sunday concerts and the Sunday opening of museums, not only worse amusement but

work also has come following after, because there is no defensible line of battle by which one public amusement (legal on other days) can be forbidden, while another public amusement, which stands on no higher footing before the law, though it may before the church, is permitted. Nor is there any place for defending the Sabbath against one form of needless work for gain, while another form of needless work for gain is permitted. "Twice is he armed that hath his quarrel just." The holiday Sunday is not thus armed, for it is *not* impartial either in what it forbids or in what it permits.

The recent efforts of workingmen to cut off Sunday work without cutting off Sunday sports proceed on the supposition that the *labors* that invade the Sabbath on one flank are wholly independent of the *lusts* that invade it on the other. Closer examination would show that Greed is the commander of both invading hordes, and Selfishness his chief of staff. The amusement vender cries, "The Sabbath was made *for man*," but he means "*for money*." "'The Sabbath was made for man,' but it was not made for man to destroy." If a rich railroad corporation can use the Sabbath for works of gain, why not a poor hat-seller also? If men may sell, on the Sabbath, cigars, newspapers, and candies, why not purer and more useful things also? If a man cannot wait for news until Monday morning, why should he wait for shoes? The law that allows the making and selling of daily newspapers on the Sabbath, and forbids the making and selling of good books, lacks *equity*, the very heart of true and effective law. Such law is a violation of law.

In a recent gathering of facts and opinions about the Sabbath from all parts of the United States, fully fifty ministerial correspondents (one fifth of the ministers responding) defended Sunday mails, or Sunday trains, or Sunday advertising of sermons, or Sunday excursions "for the poor," or Sunday opening of museums. Many ministers go beyond *theory* in favoring these things. There are ministers of all grades, from bishops to theological students, who use Sunday trains frequently in preaching tours. I have it from some of their own pens that their sermons, with their permission if not by their own act, are advertised in the Sunday papers. Now I challenge any

such preacher, or any Christian who follows these customs, to formulate an argument for the Sabbath consistent with his own example ; to draw a line between patronizing a Sunday paper and unlimited Sunday traffic ; or between railroad trains for gain and unlimited Sunday work ; or between Sunday shows and excursions "for the poor" and unlimited Sunday amusements. Equity, that is, "fair play," requires that *all* Sunday trade, *all* Sunday amusements, *all* Sunday work (save what is permissible as work of necessity or charity), should be prohibited, or *none*. Theatres are not willing to lose Sunday gains if saloons are allowed to be open. Hatters and clothiers will soon be claiming the day all over the East, as they have already generally taken it in the West, on the ground that they have as good a right to make money on Sunday as tobacconists and confectioners.

The law should not permit me to make another man work on the day of rest, that I may be amused. I should be required to find my rest in some way that will not sacrifice another's.

Only the ignorant will say in defense of Sunday trains, Sunday newspapers, Sunday mails, and Sunday sales: "The *few* must suffer for the good of the many." I find from carefully compiled statistics that in Great Britain and the United States more than *two and one half millions* are held in this slavery of needless Sunday work, and the number is rapidly increasing. Every week some Christian man has to choose between his salary and the Sabbath.

Those who would allow on the Sabbath the running of trains, the making and selling of newspapers, or any other works not clearly works of necessity, or of mercy, or of religion, have taken a position where they are exposed to a double enflaming fire,—first, from all who wish to continue other needless work on that day ; and, second, from all who wish to continue other public amusements on that day.

You say, "The Sunday paper has come to *stay*." The same might be said, with more reason, of *sin* ; but Christians do not give that as a reason for welcoming sin to their homes. Some of those who think "the Sunday paper has come to stay" once thought the same of slavery. They forget that God has "come

to stay," and so evil will have to go. The words of Lyman Beecher, in the temperance report which he wrote for the Connecticut Association of Congregationalists in 1812, are equally appropriate at the present stage of the Sabbath reform: "This Association does most earnestly entreat of the brethren in the ministry, of the members of our churches, and of the persons who lament and desire to check the progress of this evil, that they *neither express nor indulge the melancholy apprehension that nothing can be done on this subject*; a prediction eminently calculated to paralyze exertion and become the disastrous cause of its own fulfillment." The twelve millions of Evangelical Christians in this land *can* stop the Sunday mail, the Sunday train, and the Sunday newspaper, if they *will*; and they *will*, if led on courageously and hopefully by their ministers, editors, and professors. I say what I do know when I say that it was for lack of just this—there were noble exceptions—that the Massachusetts Sunday law was recently *mangled* (not "amended") into an indorsement of what the laws of God forbid, into the most lax Sunday law that can be found in the United States except in Louisiana and California. A like guilt, with like exceptions, lies at the door of the Christians of Ohio, for the Dow Law, that in one section permitted city councils to repeal the Fourth Commandment, which Cleveland and Sandusky and Cincinnati hastened to do. Although the law has been repealed, the scar remains for our instruction and warning.

There never was a *sound* argument for Sunday amusements; but in these days, when the movements for shorter hours of labor, and "early closing," and the Saturday half-holiday, are everywhere multiplying the workingmen's hours for week-day recreation, there is not left a *plausible* argument even for Sunday concerts and the Sunday opening of museums, much less for the "hell of the Sunday boat." The Saturday half-holiday and early closing will achieve full success all the sooner if the capitalist is not able to point to Sunday as a weekly holiday.

Any defensible ground of Sabbath observance must include the Round Top of Sinai. We must occupy and fortify the position that God's authority, as well as man's, is back of the Sabbath, commending it not to reason only, but to conscience

also. This is the work of the Christian pulpit, the Christian press, and of Christian schools—the three chief conservators of public conscience. The right wing of this defensible line of battle is a hill-hop of equity—the impartial prohibition of *all* work, except work of necessity, mercy, or religion. The left wing in this defensible line of battle is another hill-top of equity—the impartial prohibition of *all* public amusements.

Is the position I have thus indicated as the only defensible ground of Sabbath observance impracticable? Nay, it is not even *unreal*. It is very nearly the position on which the only successful workingmen's defense of the Sabbath has ever been conducted in Europe. While Continental workingmen have vainly attempted to *recapture* their Sunday rest, British workingmen have successfully *defended* theirs by resisting the vanguard of the Sabbath's invaders, refusing even the opening of museums in 1886, as often before. They see clearly that there is no defensible position between the Sunday opening of national museums and the Sunday opening of theatres, nor between the Sunday opening of theatres and the Sunday running of factories. It is vastly significant that the only kingdom in Europe, in which workingmen have not, to a large extent, lost their Sabbath rest, is the one in which public conscience recognizes the Divine authority of the day.

What I have described as the only defensible ground of Sabbath observance, centring in the heights of a public conscience that recognizes the day as of Divine authority, with an impartial prohibition of *all* needless work on one flank, and of *all* public amusements on the other, is more perfectly realized in Toronto than in any other large city of the world, and there proves itself both practical and popular. I speak from repeated and recent personal examinations of Toronto's Sabbath observance. This city of 140,000 inhabitants, with distances from centre to circumference as great as much larger cities, has every obstacle to a strict Sabbath observance which "modern civilization" is supposed by some to offer. But the obstacles are all overcome. The Toronto Sabbath is "The barber's Sunday," "The printer's Sunday," "The baker's Sunday," "The butcher's Sunday." The right to Sabbath rest is not taken even from

the conductors and drivers of the street cars, not even from the post-office employees, not even from the printers of the daily papers. Barbers, grocers, butchers, bakers, tobacconists, confectioners, also, rest. Telegraphic operators all rest, except ten at the central office. Druggists and milk dealers are free most of the day. The latter have resolved hereafter to make no delivery on the Sabbath in cold weather, as it is entirely unnecessary. Livery stables can legally be used only in cases of sickness and church-going, and it is expected, by the coöperation of the drivers themselves (who are licensed and made responsible), that all Sunday pleasure-driving will be stopped, and nearly all the drivers get the whole day for rest, the few others detained for permitted work having part of the day. The Christians of Toronto, at least, are considerate of their servants in their stables and at their tables. It is hard to prohibit the renting of boats to the poor while the rich man drives about in his carriage. Three "through trains" permitted on account of American competition is the most serious offense against Sabbath rest that one sees. It is out of control of the city authorities, the provincial law allowing Sunday trains starting in the United States to go through Canada to their destination. This sort of a Sabbath is kept up not alone out of regard for God's law, but also because it is found to be for the best good of men. Efforts to run Sunday horse cars and publish Sunday papers have found no popular support and so have utterly failed. Workingmen see that "the Sabbath *was* made for man." Druggists think ours a "horrible country" for men of their trade, in that none of the Sabbath is allowed to our druggists for rest. Toronto is "a city set on a hill," "a light to the world," as to what can and should be done in all large cities in regard to Sabbath observance. If a city would not suffer from hot boxes of socialism, let it give its workingmen, as Toronto does, early closing, Saturday half-holidays, and Sabbath rest.

As to the Jews, let them remember that the only nations that have not robbed and mobbed them are the nations that make them close their shops on the first day of the week that the people may be taught justice.

On the issue of the battle for the Sabbath the fate of our country and of our Christianity depends. Neither evangelical Christianity nor popular liberty ever thrived in a land of holiday Sundays, which are the allies of tyranny, infidelity, and superstition. A quiet Sabbath is the best school of liberty as well as of religion.

Let us then hold at any cost — for it is easier to defend than to recapture — the only defensible ground of Sabbath observance, that both the authority of God and the good of man require on that day the cessation of *all* needless work and of *all* public amusements.

The Sabbath here pictured is not less but more joyous than the picnic Sunday. It is a profound saying of Isaiah that in order to “make the Sabbath a *delight*” we must “turn away from *pleasure*.”

SENATE.

Petition from

STATE of

County of

Town of

Number of
Petitioners :

FOR A SUNDAY REST BILL.

TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE :

The undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby earnestly petition your honorable body to pass a bill, forbidding, in the Nation's Mail and Military service, and in interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia and the Territories, all Sunday traffic and work, except works of religion and works of real necessity and mercy, and such private work by those who observe another day as will neither interfere with the general rest nor with public worship.

NAME. (Prefix Mr. Mrs., or Miss.)

OCCUPATION.

(Duplicate petition for House of Representatives.)

When a Labor Organization or Church, or any other society, indorses the petition BY VOTE, let the “name” of the organization be signed, with the attesting signatures of the presiding officer and clerk or secretary, with place and date, and in the margin, under “Number of petitioners,” indicate the number of members in the organization petitioning. In gathering petitions from an audience it is best to have a separate petition and pencil from each pew. This form of petition has been approved by Senator Blair, Chairman of Senate's Committee on Education and Labor. Petitions should be returned to Mr. J. C. Bateham, Painesville, O., or to Hon. G. P. Lord, Elgin, Ill., or to “Pearl of Days,” 71 Bible House, N. Y., or to Rev. Willbur F. Crafts, 74 E. 90th St., N. Y., from any of whom more petitions may be obtained. Up to Sept. 1, 1888, about four million petitions have asked for such a law as is described above. There is need of millions more.

COMPULSORY VOTING.

DOES American democracy reserve to its voting population the right of suicide piecemeal? Does it allow to each voter the right not to vote? Is voting only a privilege, not a duty? Does the right of self-government include the right of non-government? And if the right to perform poll service includes the right to neglect poll service—if the right to name magistrates carries the right to name none—should not the whole body, called government, leave to its individual members, called voters, the equal alternate right as to paying taxes and bearing arms? Certainly the vote is more fundamental than taxes or arms.

Now, the dictionary conception of democracy is: "Government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power is in the hands of the people, and directly *exercised* by them; a form of government in which the power resides ultimately in the *whole* people."

Is, then, the United States a democracy? Is Michigan a democracy? Is Chicago a democracy? That is, do the whole people directly exercise the supreme power? If not, is a remedy needed? And if needed, what is it?

The propositions of this paper are these:

1. Government by the people neither leaves with, nor confers upon, the individual member of the community liberty to transfer into the hands of others, or nobody, by neglect, his pro-rata voice in its conduct, this form of government being personal to all, and not less so in obligation than in privilege.

2. Voting is the primary and fundamental expression of personal power in popular government.

3. The ballot being the primary source of power touching public safety, revenue, improvement, war-making, *et cetera*, toleration of the voter in *not* voting is recognition of a right in each to let the machinery of government for all run down through lack of winding at the polls.

4. This toleration has reduced already some of our cities from the rule of majorities to the rule of minorities, thus lowering them from democracy to oligarchy, and that the oligarchy of the worst, one effect being to nourish in some of the better qualified elements a careless, or aristocratic, coolness toward democratic civilization, rating itself superior to "the filthy pool of politics."

5. Relief is needed, and is attainable through *compulsory voting*, government, by logic and analogy, possessing the wise authority to require the vote of whomsoever it permits to vote.

Government in this country — general and local — being instituted for the benefit of the governed, it cannot excuse the individual from sharing in its conduct without loss of his proper interest in itself; nor without risk of ruin by a kind of passive treason, since, upon that excuse, citizen after citizen may withdraw from action, till nothing remains but the dry bones of a government on paper. Such latitude in organization reduces it to a game of chance, perhaps government by the people, or it may be dissolution by the people. It is "state rights" applied to the individual; and the state he owes allegiance to may as wisely "coerce" him as the Union did the state. Political entity is to be preserved only through activity (voluntary or compulsory) by its many separate factors. As they drop out, its vitality declines; for, ceasing to be steam in its engine, they become barnacles upon its hull. Hence, clearly, our form of government leaves with its enfranchised units no right to become ciphers, though many of its nominal ciphers it might safely substitute for many of its nominal units — eliminate sex from government, I mean, and add intelligence.

My second proposition is self-evident.

And my third is nearly so, for sufferance of *one* not to vote is permission to all; and its acceptance by all certainly would bring governmental machinery to a dead stop.

In support of my fourth proposition, I present some facts and figures chiefly within my own knowledge and from the records of my own city, Chicago. They are fairly representative of our other large cities.

At the spring election of Chicago in 1886, the earnest advo-

cates of municipal reform made strong effort for a large vote on that issue; yet the registration stopped twenty thousand short of the census of adult males, and the vote stopped sixteen per cent. short of the registration. Even in the attractive contest of November, 1884, Chicago cast only 101,000 votes out of a possible 120,000. At the spring election of 1887, when the ouster of a most corrupt city administration and the punishment of boodle-gathering by county commissioners were in issue, — a contest of much larger stake in money and honor for the city than were involved in the choice of a president, — and after an increase of at least fifteen thousand in her enfranchised residents, the city polled but seventy-one thousand votes, sixty-five thousand citizens who might have voted neglecting to vote, while only fifty-one thousand voted for the winning candidate — *the rule of the minority*. In the contest of November, 1886, with members of the legislature and state officers to be chosen, the city registered less than 100,000 voters, and of these thirty per cent. neglected to vote, while at least thirty thousand had neglected to register. And at the special election on June 6, 1887, to choose six judges of the circuit court, so small interest did the vast majority of voters manifest as to who should settle their disputes and sentence their criminals, that the county cast but forty-four thousand and seventy-four votes, and of these twelve thousand were outside the city. Thus, less than one fourth of the voters of Chicago voted upon the issue of highest judicial importance to all! And thirty thousand dictated the judiciary for a county of 900,000 people! Likewise, at the Milwaukee election for judges and other officials in April, 1887, only one third of the voters in the city voted!

— Is this democracy? Is this government by the people? Is it not oligarchy — government by the few? Is not the abandonment of government by multitudes full of danger to the community? Does not default in public service need correction equally with abuse of public service? Is non-voting more a virtue, or less a fault, than twice-voting? If not, would not it be equally just, wise, and practicable to correct it on compulsion enforced by punishment, if need be?

True, there are voters whose absence from the polls is a favor

to themselves and the community; and sometimes such do stay away, but the fault never becomes a habit with them. No; as a body the absentees are not of those who govern best by their absence. They are chiefly of the class having most at stake in government. They are the busy merchants, manufacturers, grain-gamblers, stock-jobbers, priests of insurance, bankers, brokers, men whose capital is other people's interest, the elegant denizens from ten to three o'clock each day of Wall Street and Broadway, State Street and La Salle, and the army of clerks and accountants they hire, but not to vote; they are the kid-gloves of the pulpit, bar, and other learned professions, and the petulant old gentlemen in slippers and retirement so deep behind bank accounts they will not condescend to help govern themselves. They are the elements too clean to help clean "the filthy pool." They regard average politics, not as "the science of government," but as a "job lot" to be "closed out" by peddlers, and not worth their looking over. They do not recognize any public claim on them to step in and block the game that is shuffled for by local bosses and party demagogues. They look on and are disgusted, yet will not move to correct what they roundly condemn. They are content to "look on and be disgusted" so long as anarchy does not unhinge their gate — so long as the cost of political corruption is not definitely apportioned and entered on their individual tax-receipt. They want to do as they please, and nothing pleases them but money-getting and using it as they please. Often they take a generous interest in building fine churches, hospitals, and in other philanthropies, the visible monuments of public glory and kindness; but of time and action in the philanthropy of political reform they are penurious. To save the nation some of them went to war, but will not go to the polls on the same errand.

It is mainly such men and their followers who suffer elections to go by default, especially great municipal elections. Most men of the farm district possess the virtue that stops the spring plowing or the fall husking to go to the polls, though it is claimed beyond dispute that bad weather on April 4, 1887, defeated prohibition in Michigan. If so, compulsory voting would have won the amendment and defeated the weather.

While the vicious of the city sometimes are cowed into absence by some specially-provoked uprising of the virtuous, every polling-place observer will see continual proof that the chronic stay-aways are not the representatives of vice, crime, ignorance, poverty, or stupidity. These value their franchise; to many of them it has a dollar value, and they vote, while many to whom good government is the only security for many thousands of dollars, make voting a virtue of convenience. But the man who owes to popular government his fortunate birth, his education, his prosperity, and his insurance on peaceful living and the enjoyment of his estate — the government whose soldiers are his defenders, whose glory he claims, whose shame he blushes under, and whose police patrol past his home while he sleeps — yet habitually neglects election day, that man is not only a political shirk, but a political sponge, a moral “dead-beat,” willing to have his lands and bonds guarded by his neighbors. Then, if not well guarded, his neglect affords him a high platform for grumbling. Reading the report of last night’s council meeting, he grumbles about taxes and stealings, yet next spring he will not walk round the corner to protest against the reelection of the old aldermen. Sticking to his bad temper and his private ledger on election day, he makes it possible for the fellows deficient in syntax, fee-simple, and the Golden Rule to make false entries in the public ledger all the year round. Yes, the reason much voting is not done well is, that busy men leave it to those who have nothing else to do; and thus the natural enemies of the “gang” that “works” the city become silent partners of the gang. The mediæval sovereign *hired* a fellow to be his fool; but the “popular sovereign” often hires the fellow to be his master, and is his own fool.

What then can be done to secure the reign of the indifferent and disgusted yet really better and brighter grades of the people? *Make* them vote. How? Well, as the heedless are made to observe other obligations to the public welfare — through fear. When love of country goes to sleep, fear of country must be waked up; when volunteering stops, the draft steps in. There is a liberty of the subject even republicanism cannot afford; it cannot afford in him vice or ignorance; and

when he has achieved virtue and intelligence, or had them thrust upon him, it cannot afford his indifference to government — his absence from the polls. To secure high and enduring peace, growth, character, popular government certainly must have the support of its clearest thinkers, its most practical managers, and its people of conscience. That is, it must have the help of *those that have unescapable interest in the remainder of the governed.*

Now, the *virtuous* never will escape interest in the vicious till self-preservation ceases to be a law of nature; the *intelligent* cannot become indifferent to the ignorant, unless they would prophesy the extinction of their own species, neglected ignorance being a Vandal force; the *industrious* too must study to draw the indolent toward industry, or be plundered by them; and *wealth* is bound to legislate poverty up to self-support, or keep it on hand as a pauper. The reverse is *not* true, for the bottom cannot fall; it can be careless without loss. The top may fall, if careless of its underpinning. The bottom, when in power, pulls down — enjoys a tumble by everything that is above; but self-preservation compels the top to do its best for the bottom, or suffer.

Hence, the primary opportunity for the better to lift up the worse being the ballot-box, the people bred to knowledge, purity, industry, and property must, at least, help to govern — must vote — or the hostiles become the governing class, democracy giving way to class government — the survival of the *unfittest*. And their hope of gain lies in vicious or violent administration. Yet many good men, heedless of this undertow in our politics which threatens to grow stronger than its top wave, fall asleep on the beach.

To wake up these, and quiet the other kind, let voting be made an obligation as legally binding as tax-paying, and enforced by fine, light imprisonment, or limited suspension of the right to vote, no privilege being so valued as the one that is threatened. A day in jail, or an impressive fine for the too busy and the too lofty would at once make election the best observed of all the public days in their almanac, while any unprofitable delinquents coming into court might be awarded a suspension so lasting as to be of large public service.

For the men who treat suffrage as a toy, yet seldom play with it, this proposal to make voting compulsory will conjure visions of centralized power, personal liberty lost, tyranny. But personal liberty surrendered for the good of the whole is not lost; it is saved in the larger safety of all — the safety that is the first right of the state, the first duty of the citizen. Bar this right, let this duty sleep, and popular government becomes a caprice, a thing of individual convenience, like marriage with divorce on demand. And the "tyranny" of improvement no honest man will make faces at. Requirement of acts preservative — can it closer approach tyranny than does restraint from acts destructive? Every nation that hopes for a future makes needed service in its army compulsory. Is not service at the polls a lighter burden? And if here exacted of the scholar and the kindred lights of his upper atmosphere, will it not lessen the risk that any class will have to bear arms?

Compulsory use of the ballot would be, not *loss* of personal liberty, but merely required *exercise* of the same. And in politics personal liberty should not be the liberty of political indolence, but the liberty of choice in political activities. With the absentee list large and largely of those who, if present, would vote upon judgment, or conscience, or both, every election — every return of power directly to the people — becomes a time of uncertainty between good and evil, thus affording the Englishman ground for accounting monarchy more stable than republicanism. Especially is this true of elections in the dense mixed centres, while to the rural community also compulsion would sometimes express great value, for there would be less dodging on moral issues in legislation, if there could be no dodging in elections.

That suffrage under penalty would come within the scope of state power, there is, I think, no question; and that it would be wise for the state to exercise power on that line, there is as little question. For instance, let another Sitting Bull invade a state in which prohibition of the liquor traffic is pending, and every able-bodied man may be mustered in to put him out; but in the conflict between home and the traffic, the state does not require even one man to march to the polls and fire even a paper

wad his own way — at the home or the traffic. To suppress the savage the public hand may suppress all personal liberty ; but on the issue of suppressing or supporting the propagation of savages, the public does not compel so much as the *exercise* of personal liberty. But if the first be right, could the second be wrong ? and if the first be wise, would the second be stupid ? No. Despite the breadth of American suffrage, the mutterings of danger come not so audibly from the numbers who do vote as from the numbers who do not.

Reference to some of the positive acts for public weal which municipal, state, and national authority *compels* the citizen to perform, will make clear the fact that compulsory voting involves no new principle, as also the fact that republicanism is not a system of mere negations, leaving the individual license to do or omit at will all things it does not forbid him to do.

For instance, if the nation wants soldiers beyond the volunteer force, she *drafts* them — compels the citizen to leave ledger and plow-handle, to leave home and its group of loves, and tramp to the front in defense of her and them. And with the wisdom of this compulsory military service granted, it could hardly be a blunder, through compulsory voting, to enforce at once the primary and the highest, widest civil service. Nor can the authority which compels peace by war lack authority to compel peace by peaceful activity.

Riot usurps a street, a city — strikes possess a railway, a rolling-mill, blocking commerce and industry — and the state compels the civilian to turn militiaman, no tree but the oak of arbitrary power then blossoming with public safety. Since, then, the elements that breed strikes and riots are seeking to usurp — often do usurp — the ballot-box, blocking elective honesty, may not the public safety compel every honest voter to “fall in,” with his face to the polls ?

If accident or enemy fire the town, its police authority musters every needed citizen into the fire brigade to save life and property. But when moral incendiaries apply the torch to public and private *virtues* in the town — is not this a situation that should compel the rest to pass buckets and work the pumps at the ballot-box ?

In towns at all populous, the poor man is compelled to take care of his cow—keep her off the lawn of his broadcloth neighbor. Is it less fair to require Sir Broadcloth to keep the shadow of his public lethargy off his humble neighbor's cottage—to cast into the treasure-house of ballots the tone of that business life which has built him round and dressed him well, thus helping, probably, so to mould public habits, and inspire private economy that the poor man may keep two cows?

✓ Must the overworked farmer, nevertheless, leave corn-planting to mend the highways of his district, yet pass excused for not leaving in husking-time to choose a man who may frame over him laws of taxation, or temptation—even dictate his mortgage interest and the number of rails in his line-fence? Why should not the state tighten her grip upon the citizen's vote in shaping the laws, as upon his hand in executing them! Is legislation less to both him and her than administration?

The common thief goes to prison with loss of franchise, being accounted unworthy of citizenship; but a thousand intelligent "honorable" citizens, failing to vote, permit worse voters to steal both the cash and the credit of a whole city; and some feel that, in a late great election, merely that handful, by their failure to vote, robbed the whole country of its best estate. At any rate, the change their failure wrought illustrates the risk. Is it wise to let such risks remain lawful? Considering who refuse to vote, is not the refusal a species of gambling that imperils far more than does the staking of dollar bills? And if so, could gamblers' punishment be unjust to non-voters? Incorporators have to use, or lose, their franchise. Is the state an inferior corporation that her members should without reproof neglect their privilege? No; non-use of the ballot is misuse of it.

At least partial observance of the Bible Sabbath is required by law; yet election day is the annual Sabbath of the nation, and on its faithful observance largely depends the peaceful observance of the other. Why then may not the law wisely compel suspension of all business one *half* of election day, that the "too busy" may "find time" to worship at the altar of self-government? The *saloon* door frequently is shut through all

the hours of that day, giving toppers time to vote. Are the merchants, *et al.*, less worthy of legal looking after? Again, when men break the laws, society inflicts punishment; but would it not save us a great deal of breakage and repair to melt into our political china our best political sand — make our carefulest people responsible for our moral crockery? But to this end the stay-aways must be reformed into come-outers; and since they come not out for gentle words and tufts of grass, would it be harsh and wrong in the state to persuade them with stones?

The discipline of war finds it just to the culprit and essential to public safety to shoot those that desert their guns. Now they that desert the ballot no less endanger the state; who then shall cry "tyranny!" if the discipline of peace, by fine, jail, or suspension of franchise, do but swinge the legs of these peaceful shirks! Cut election day out of John Smith's year for a time, and when it grows in again, he will care for it as for the baby's first tooth.

Why should the state exact of the individual jury service rather than poll service — the higher service by so much as law-making is higher than law-mending? For the ballot-box is at once the cradle and the climax of democracy — its primary and its supreme court — while the jury-box is merely its house of correction. If by right and for public justice the state compel her citizens to sit for weeks, or months, to correct wrong in the few, may she not — ought she not to — compel them to devote an hour, or a day, to the probable promotion of right in the many? But, you say, it is not clear that all men, driven to the polls, would vote wisely; neither do all men driven into the jury-box. But it is clear that most poll-shirks, like most jury-shirks, if compelled to act, would hunt up their conscience. Their voting would improve the jury's verdict by improving the poll-list whence the jury-list is pricked: ?

In the laws of taxation, too, I see the kin of compulsory voting. They compel contributions of money to the general good; yet there is not one argument for this that may not compel contributions of time and judgment to the same purpose. The business man's cash-taxes would lighten, if his judgment were better taxed to look after his cash in public hands. Yet few

who fail to vote fail to pay taxes ; indeed, often taxation seems to begin only quite near the spot where voting leaves off — decency dying to get rich, rascality living to get office.

Look through the law and practice of " eminent domain," and see it, in the interest of public convenience only, sometimes cut from under the private possessor the half, or the whole, of his estate at its own price. A more fundamental and equally just " eminent domain " will it be that shall take perforce his attention and bestow it upon the general interest in, not only his estate, but his home — his boys and girls.

You believe in compulsory education ; believe also in the compulsory application of that education. You cannot command the first, yet condemn the second. If to constrain the child to get knowledge be republican, it cannot be otherwise to make him exercise that knowledge in republican government. " Knowledge is power," and the child of the majority, getting it at public expense, owes some use of it for public benefit. It is fundamental in the contract between the public and the person that he shall so use his possessions as not to encroach upon his neighbors ; also, that he shall contribute somewhat of his private fortune to promote the public fortune. Yet the drip from your eaves on to your neighbor's lawn is no plainer encroachment upon the rights of others than is the refusal to let your amiable and intelligent parts drip into the ballot-box, the reservoir whence public welfare is watered. If the ballot is a privilege, embrace it ; if a duty, do not meanly leave it all for others to bear — do not selfishly withdraw that line of your private fortune whose contributions can best promote the public fortune. In other words, can you tell why public interest should tax your horse, but exempt your brains ? I cannot.

Thus, in the foregoing and other ways, the general will trains the individual will up to contributions in the general interest — dictates things you shall, and shall not, do concerning the commonwealth. For example, it compels your city smoke-stack to cap itself with a " consumer," compels you to build of brick, with iron girders, fire-escape, etc. ; it compels you to lay sidewalk and street pavement of certain width and material, maintain the rural highway, and a fence of certain height ; it compels

you to wear clothes, and your sex to wear its own clothes. What slaves we creatures are to the public we create! Would it, then, smack more of tyranny in your "master" to say you shall vote than it does to say your nether garment shall be bifurcated?

Two further points. I have large faith in my instincts, my intuitions; and one of them is, that the enforced ballot would be a dignified ballot, rising into the plane of enforced jury service, tax-paying, and arms-bearing. The poor man grows taller, more manly, on becoming a tax-payer, and naturally feels a juster pride in himself and his country, like one who has fought her battles — even when drafted. The young man of intelligence who has long known the significance of suffrage — what a badge of manhood he finds his first ballot! A dignified ballot, too, would beget greater respect for the later steps in government. Sometimes the good elements of a great city rise against misrule, telling its Tweeds "what they are going to do about it" by putting both them and better men "where they will do the most good." At such times, not to vote is accounted disgrace. Make it always a disgrace not to vote, and the Tweedish times will not recur — the polls will be looked up to, not down upon — no man will treat voting as a joke, and the law it gives birth to will not be a dead-letter.

My conviction is that, keeping the worthy at the polls, the worthless will be somewhat cowed — repressed — not merely outnumbered and outwitted. Vice, positively confronted by virtue, is always the coward; as the righteous advance, rascals fall back — even before whipped. It is axiomatic, that when the best are foremost, the worst are hindmost; but it is a point worth thinking of. And throughout the hundred years of our democracy, there stand more than annual proofs that our Majority, when active, is not only the master, but a master honest, capable, generous. If not, whence is the hope of the republic in emergence? But if it cannot be inspired, that Majority must be *pushed*, into action. Inertia wins no victories, and motionless virtue is a corpse that invites political corruption.

Of course, men whose faith in others is handicapped by their own neglect, and whose bank-book is their map of the world,

will fondly assert compulsory voting impracticable ; but so long as men conform their little ash-heap to the city ordinance, shoot their sick steer to comply with the statute, and grumbling, or gracious pay taxes by the thousand a year, why fear that the "impracticables" would not also pay the *ballot* as a legal tax on citizenship ? (Why think it harder to make Smith vote on his twenty-first birthday than not to vote the day before ?) Does "must" chafe the private will, harder than "must not" ? Yet the laws forbidding certain classes to vote are commonly obeyed and even by those "willful creatures," the women.

Probably, however, the impracticables would need to have the folly of disobedience illustrated a few times by fines in the courts. With a few post-election scenes fastening in the popular memory, the danger of fines for absence from the polls, the law to vote once would, I think, be as generally obeyed as is the law not to vote twice.

JAMES CLEMENT AMBROSE.

Evanston, Ill.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

ADDRESS OF JUDGE ROBERT C. PITMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE PROHIBITION CONVENTION, AT WORCESTER, MASS., SEPTEMBER 12, 1888.

A PROHIBITION PARTY A POLITICAL NECESSITY.

SLAVERY flourished in this country in church and state as long as it had power to make and unmake presidents. It was defiant till the people rose and swept from place both the party that supported and the party that feared it. And so of the great contest of to-day. What Cardinal Manning says to Englishmen we can as truly say to Americans : "We shall not win till we have ranged the popular will against the enormous capital engaged in the liquor traffic." And in our country the only way of combining and organizing the popular will upon such a great public question is through a political party pledged to exterminate such a peril and a pest. The Democratic party makes no pretense that it is such a party. In its blander moods it rather smiles at the simplicity of the good people who are undertaking to suppress the saloon as it did at the "fanatics" of the olden days who talked of abolishing slavery. Does the Republican party make any pretense of being such a party ? Hardly. Certainly not as a national organization. Occasionally locally ; more frequently in a whispering *aside* so as not to disturb the liquor dealers in its ranks. I do not know what the Republican Convention in Massachusetts will say to-day. Its past utterances have been curious. As Governor Long once naively said at a convention where he was chairman of the committee on resolutions (report of "Boston Daily Advertiser"), "Your committee recognizes that several times before, the Republican party on the question of temperance has been obliged to take a position such that nobody could know exactly where we stood." I suppose their embarrassment is partially explained by a resolution adopted at another of their state conventions which, recognizing that "diverse views" upon the subject are "honestly held" by its members, declares : "That the Republican party is a national party coextensive with the country ; that in this Commonwealth it applies no tests not exacted in other States ; that it ought not here to add to or subtract from the national creed."

But leaving their professions let us come to their performances. In 1875 Massachusetts enacted the present license law. It is the authority under which the traffic has grown opulent and strong in our great cities and invaded the peace and quiet of many of our beautiful country towns that for long years had been free from the tavern and the dram shop. It was enacted by a legislature largely Republican. It was approved by a Demo-

cratic governor. It is true that it was not supported by the votes of a majority of the Republicans. But for thirteen years since the government of the Commonwealth has been continuously and exclusively in the hands of the Republicans with the exception of a single gubernatorial term for General Butler. They have made no party issue for its repeal. Nominal Prohibitionists have at times claimed that it should have "a fair trial," which, as William Lloyd Garrison indignantly exclaimed, was "like proposing another trial for the Asiatic cholera!" Only last winter nominal Prohibitionists active in the Republican ranks opposed making an earnest effort in the legislature for its repeal. If a party having such undisputed control of the government for so many years is not to be held responsible for the policy of the State upon a topic of such vital concern, pray tell me, for what use do parties exist? And in what way are we to educate and to organize the conscience of the State for action, except through a party making the suppression of the liquor traffic a principle?

If a more striking exhibition of the complicity of the Republican party with the saloon is wanting, let us look at its administration of the city of Boston. In 1885 the Republican majority of the legislature took away from the city all power of issuing licenses and all control in matters of police and vested it in a board of police, to be appointed by the governor and council, and removable in the same manner for any cause which they "shall deem sufficient." A Republican governor appointed two Republicans out of the three. The present chief magistrate has reappointed the most forceful and able member of that board whose commission recently expired. It is hard to conceive a clearer case of party responsibility for the action of that board. The number, the location, and the character of the licenses rests entirely with them. Of the manner in which they have exercised this discretion it is not pleasant, and it is entirely superfluous to speak. The object lesson speaks for itself. The Dawes-Hoar circular of last year had the assurance to speak of the "unsavory Democratic liquor power of the city of Boston." Let it be remembered that the Democrats of Massachusetts have no power of themselves to legalize a saloon in Massachusetts, and more especially that in Boston every liquor dealer is ordained and set apart for his special business by a Republican board of police. It is a pretty close and solemn question for those who call themselves Temperance Republicans to answer — who is running the grog-shops of the metropolis? If this question gives offense, we must console ourselves with the remark of Carl Schurz: "A new moral power which exposes and puts to shame current insincerities is always treated with contumely by those whose consciences are uneasy."

THE FOLLY OF HIGH LICENSE.

Some notice should be taken of the legislation of last winter (carefully made to take effect after this presidential year), which limits the number and raises the price of licenses. It is in unison with the unmistakable trend of the Republicans towards the policy of what is called High

License. This has been well termed "a buffer between the popular indignation and the liquor traffic." It presents many attractions to the Republican politician. It gives him the power of discriminating and controlling the liquor traffic in the interest of politics; it favors the bloated brewer and the distinguished distiller who are getting to be magnates in the party, while manifesting a wholesome contempt for the Irish Democrat who caters for the descending grade of tipplers. It makes a show of virtue but leaves the substance of iniquity. It conciliates the goody gentlemen who think that "really something ought to be done about the dram shop," without knowing what: while it does not at all disturb the shrewd and powerful liquor oligarchy. In short, it is the politicians' policy of appearing to do something and yet not doing it.

High License is doomed to failure. It does violence to the American sense of justice and equality, it is condemned by all business experience, and it shocks the Christian conscience. The largest church in the United States has recently declared in authoritative utterance that "the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin." Will "the plain people," with whom is the ultimate decision, ever consent to add — "unless the elected sinner shall pay five hundred dollars into the municipal treasury?" If the ethical absurdity could be tolerated, High License would be as weak as a working system as it is morally. Chicago is to-day a striking object lesson of the vile saloons that can flourish under such a system. And it is now an accepted law of all trade that where it depends on attraction and temptation, one colossal store, with all its costly decorations, can sell more than a score of side street shops. A "gin palace" is more dangerous than a gin den. We must never forget that the disgusting accessories are not the principal evils of drinking. These are sequences, and in the nature of things they will always be necessary sequences of educational work commenced higher up. It is not the accidents which surround the drink, but the alcohol in it which constitutes the peril. The trouble with tippling is not that it is vulgar, but that it is deadly to body and soul. If it were possible to make it respectable (as it is to make it fashionable) it were not less, but more, dangerous.

PROHIBITION A NATIONAL ISSUE.

But we must be just to our Republican friends and appreciate the dilemma in which they are placed. The majority are probably disposed to go as far in the interest of temperance as is consistent with the safety of the party. But the proviso is fatal. A serious fight with the liquor interest loses them the battle. The temperance wing of the party are more easily placated and amenable to persuasion than their saloon allies.

No, fellow-citizens, this great cause of the hour, this contest for all that concerns our civilization cannot be successfully maintained as one of "the minor issues" of any party. It must stand alone. It appeals to Republicans — it appeals to Democrats. It appeals to all men who believe with Richard Cobden "that the temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform." But it asks of all unswerving and undivided allegiance in a new political brotherhood with but one common purpose.

But will it be said, why make this a national issue? What need of a national party? I answer the last question first. Experience has taught us that a state party without a national party to support it is a chimera. Every four years it was partially disbanded. Every two years it was strained by the fierce contests in close congressional districts. It had no compact and continuous life. The public regarded it as a sort of an annex to the Republican party. Its increase in members, in resources, in organization, in courage and enthusiasm, since it has been organized in earnest as a national party, has been wonderful. So that if we were limited to state action we should still need the coherence which comes alone from national union.

But the question itself is national as well as local. The influence which would be exerted on the several States by the changed usages of official life at the capital, and the careful attention to the personal habits of the officers, both those in military and civil life, can hardly be overestimated; while a régime of Prohibition in the District of Columbia would remove a national scandal and lessen a national danger. Beyond this it is in the power of Congress to determine the conditions of the growing life in our vast Territories; and a sober Territory will hardly change into a drunken State. The import duties and the internal taxes are also solely subjects of national legislation. The whole international liquor traffic, now a prolific source of misery and degradation to so many foreign people, and especially to the weaker races in Africa, is subject to the same control. State legislation itself is seriously hindered and embarrassed in its effective operation by federal obstacles. Years ago the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Brown v. Maryland*, decided that an importer had a right which the State could not restrict to sell in unbroken packages at the place of importation. In consequence of this all our state laws have excepted such sales of liquor. In a very recent case, that of *Bowman v. Chicago and North Western Railway Co.*, the same court have decided that a statute of Iowa forbidding the transportation of intoxicating liquors into the State for unlawful sale was a regulation of commerce between its people and those of other States of the Union; and as such was void, "unless the consent of Congress express or implied is first obtained." Justice Matthews, who delivered the majority opinion of the court, also intimated that the importer into the State had a right of sales analogous to that of the foreign importer. And so on every side we see the need of friendly legislation. The State and the Nation must act together.

That class of our fellow-citizens calling themselves Anti-Saloon Republicans fully realized that this question had become a national one. This class was respectable in numbers, very respectable in ability, and only lacking in courage. The substantive proved too strong for the adjective. Before the Chicago Convention the chairman of their organization spoke thus boldly in his circular: "It must necessarily choose whether or not the party shall cower before an insolent and merciless foe (the saloon) or become the avowed champion of 'American Homes' as well as of 'American Indus-

tries.' Marry these two issues and victory is certain. Reject either and disaster is inevitable." The Convention met, and what happened? The Anti-Saloonists urged the committee on resolutions to adopt a mild declaration. But (I quote from that reliable party organ, the "Boston Journal"): "After the positive declarations made by western members of the committee as to the disastrous effect the adoption of such a plank would have on party prospects in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana, the Eastern committeemen abandoned the idea." Thus did they embrace the alternative, and "cower" before the saloon. It is for the men who are in earnest in this matter to say if the party shall thus escape what was foretold, "inevitable disaster."

THE TARIFF SCARE.

One of the means, and no doubt the principal one, by which the Republicans hope to escape this disaster is the agitation of the tariff issue. One of the most audacious attempts in the history of American politics is now being made to persuade the laboring man that his wages are to be disastrously affected by the success of the administration scheme for the readjustment of the tariff. With the details of that scheme I have here and now no concern. It is not our measure — it bears traces of personal interests and partisan pressure as all tariffs do. If we ever get the Republican scheme we can better judge it by comparison. But some things are clear. Let not the plain man be confused by the artful dust of details and of skillfully arranged figures.

In the first place, our present tariff is a war tariff, made high without precedent or parallel in the struggle for means to sustain our national existence. It was contemporaneous with an equally oppressive internal revenue tax; and this of itself required that the manufacturers upon whom it pressed most heavily should have the corresponding support of high duties. Or, as Mr. Morrill put it, "If we bleed manufacturers, we must see to it that the proper tonic is administered at the same time." This suggests the query, whether the recent proposal to bleed them for campaign purposes is founded on the supposition that they have become dangerously plethoric.

The internal revenue system, except as it applies to tobacco and liquors, having been long since swept away, it is self-evident that the tariff duties require reduction. This necessity is reinforced by the existence of an annual surplus of one hundred million dollars in the United States treasury, drawn from the pockets of the people, and withdrawn from the proper channels of business. It has been suggested, to be sure, that the Democrats who have been out of power so many years are rapidly learning the art of wasting the people's money, and that the problem of the surplus need not long trouble any one. But "that way danger lies" to every interest of good government; and thoughtful men, without distinction of party, should award praise to President Cleveland for his earnest efforts to remove this temptation from his own party.

The removal of the tax on spirits is certainly not a present wise or practicable mode of relief. While we all agree in the ultimate purpose of our

own platform, there is an anachronism in it. Dr. Brooks well says : "The Republicans would take this arch criminal (whiskey) out of prison to set him at liberty, the Prohibitionists to hang him ;" but I must add that, as in the case of other capital offenders, he is to be kept in prison till the time of execution of the people's judgment. When that time comes there shall be neither taxed whiskey nor free whiskey ; but *no* whiskey.

In seeking plans of customs reduction the first call would naturally be for enlargement of the free list, and especially of such raw materials as enter into our manufactures, thereby at once stimulating the latter, making foreign markets possible for them and reducing the burden upon the consumer. A few years ago everybody seemed to agree to this. President Grant, in 1875, urging that a tariff reduction should be had, called for it "on those articles which enter into manufactures of all sorts. All duty paid on such articles goes direct to the cost of the article when manufactured here and must be paid for by the consumer. These duties not only come from the consumers at home, but act as a protection to foreign manufacturers in our own and distant markets."

President Arthur, in 1884, recommended "an enlargement of the free list." A very few years ago ex-Governor Long declared that "the free list is the honest tariff reformer's hope." Tariff reform has been in the air, and found embodiment in party platforms and speeches for years. Mr. Morrill, the father of the war tariff, as long ago as 1870, uttered this warning : "It is a mistake of the friends of a sound tariff to insist on the extreme rates imposed during the war, if less will raise the necessary revenue." But when the theory of tariff reduction comes to be made concrete, it touches selfish interests, affords an opportunity for clamor to subsidizing monopolists who have fattened on its extortions, appeals to the sensitiveness of business interests to any change, however inevitable, and for the moment the advantage lies with an attacking opposition rather than with a responsible administration. But the good sense of the American people will ultimately go with President Garfield : "I would have duties so adjusted that every great American industry can fairly live and make fair profits ; and yet so low that if our manufacturers attempted to put prices up unreasonably, the competition from abroad would come in and bring them down to a fair rate."

But to return to the question of wages. England is a free-trade country. The English laborer is paid less than the American. Therefore we must not touch the hem of the garment of our present tariff. Such is the preposterous argument. It might as well be assumed that because the English laborer is paid more than the laborer in the tariff countries of the continent he owes this superiority to the system of free trade. The truth is that every student of the wage problem knows and every honest one confesses that wages depend upon a great variety of conditions in which the tariff is generally an unimportant factor.

This position does not rest upon theory. It has often been pointed out that the protected interests of our country paid among the lowest wages ;

and it is in those industries that the relations of the employer and the employee are less generous and satisfactory. Strikes occur most frequently along the line of highest protection. But it is in our power to supply a conclusive demonstration of the folly of the fright about wages with which the people are sought to be fooled.

The fifteenth annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor contains a most exhaustive investigation by Carroll D. Wright of the comparative wages of labor from 1860 to 1883. The average tariff in 1860 was 24 per cent. The average tariff in 1880 was 48 per cent. The average wages of all industries in Massachusetts in 1860 was \$8.18 a week. In 1880 it was \$9.45. But to offset this slight increase we find in the course of those years a very large increase in the price of groceries, provisions, and fuel. If there were time to examine the details as to wages in the protected industries, the result would be still more striking; in many of them there has been an actual falling off. An attempt to connect the rise and fall of wages with tariff systems is utterly futile. The general result I will state in Mr. Wright's own words. "We see in Massachusetts a great advance from 1860 to 1872; then a continual falling off until 1880, then a rally and continued improvement to 1883." "Wages reached their lowest level in 1880." And yet the tariff was at high-water mark — the highest tariff ever known to this country, or to any country in the world of which I have knowledge.

No, fellow-citizens, the prosperity of the workingmen of this country depends not upon an exorbitant tariff, but upon the blessings with which a beneficent Providence has crowned our country, upon their energy, their skill and intelligence, their education and religion, and the character of the homes which make, sustain, and cheer them. Of all these the dram shop is the deadly antagonist.

THE VITAL QUESTION OF THE PENDING ELECTION.

Good men of Massachusetts! There are issues and issues. Some are misleading, transient, partisan, and personal; some are vital and eternal. With a great price has this privilege to determine the policy of the State and nation come down to us. Neglect it not, abuse it not, use it not lightly. Think of its power for good. By your votes every dram shop in the State might be closed and a policeman put there to keep it so. Massachusetts would no more tempt her children by legalized vice. Your jails might be thinned and your poorhouses depopulated. From labor a load might be lifted, from homes a shadow removed, the waste of wealth and the worst waste of productive power and of character be checked, the ballot be made purer and the government safer, a fairer civilization spread over the Commonwealth, and a nobler race of men to enjoy it. And such victory here would foreshadow victory everywhere. Fellow-workers, I am no dreamer. I know too well the many years of labor that must lie between us and a realization of this picture. But labor for a great cause is never thrown away. Our object is plain, our path straight — our duty commending.

In the history of this country there have been great issues at stake, and

at other times great men and great masses have busied themselves about very small ones. The allusions so often made of late by our Republican friends to the campaign of 1840 for the grandfather of their present candidate recall historical recollections. Great processions then bore, with other catch-words, the banner of "A Protective Tariff." But in the midst of all the excitement, that sagacious old statesman, John Quincy Adams, characterized the movement as "an unwieldy mass of political machinery to accomplish nothing." As it progressed Webster wrote to his friend Everett that "The people have been cajoled and humbugged ;" and after it was all over, and so many apples of expectation had turned to ashes, Calhoun truly said : "The election decided nothing but that General Harrison should be elected president for the next term." Would Republican success now mean more ? Nay, are we sure that it would mean as much, for has not wine-grower Estee, the chairman of that convention which had such a curious postscript interest in the cause of temperance, told us that though James G. Blaine could "not be at the head of the ticket" he was "the uncrowned king" and "commander-in-chief at the head of the forces in the field." Possibly in event of victory he may not choose to lay down his power but remain the virtual though not the nominal ruler. But while the election of Harrison in 1840 meant so little, the philosophical historian von Holst looking backward tells us : "The person who wished to read the future of the country from the numbers of the presidential election of 1840 should not have stopped at the electoral vote and at the numbers which went beyond a million. Weightier than these were the not quite seven thousand votes cast for Birney and Earle, the candidates of the liberty party." It was these 7,000 that was the salt of American politics.

A man whose sole aim is to do his duty can never be defeated. I do not pretend to look into the future. I do not know the course of Providence or the changes and combinations of parties that may arise. But this one thing I do know, that the votes for Clinton B. Fisk, which will be cast in November in every State in this Union, whether they are 70,000 or 700,000, will be a power — not unlikely a decisive power — in the battle of civilization against its deadliest foe. And so let us rest content. The future is ours. Let us take to heart the faith of a great English Liberal, John Morley : "In social things we may be sure that undying hope is the secret of vision," and rejoice in the glad assurance which one of our own religious teachers expresses : that "he who knows what *ought* to be, knows what *will* be."

WOMAN OUR ALLY.

I cannot close without a word of appeal to the women of Massachusetts. You are an integral part of the Prohibition party. This is your cause as well as ours ; nay, more so, for it touches the home most closely, and the home which is the solace of man is the world of woman. The Democratic party promises you nothing and gives you what it promises. The Republican party in State Convention, sixteen years ago, promised you equal suf-

frage — and its promises are of the value of Wilkins Micawber's promissory notes — you are still numbered with paupers and aliens. They prate of "the sobriety of the people and the purity of the home as the first concern of good government," and cover the Commonwealth with legalized dram shops. It is surely effrontery that such a party should ask your prayers and sympathy. They belong to us. If we had the power we would supplement these with your votes. We look to you in hope as our reserve corps, who, at the last, will make our victory overwhelming and final. Meantime you can be effective allies. No great uplift of humanity was ever made without enthusiasm. Of that, woman's heart can be the fountain. Woman's hand can aid in much of our practical work ; and if it cannot put a vote into the ballot-box it can be stretched forth in eloquent appeal to those who have deprived her of self-protection, to be manly enough to drop the shackles of old party ties and stand themselves for Protection to the Home.

SUCCESS IN THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

THE New York Society for the Suppression of Vice was incorporated in May, 1873, and since that time it has carried on an aggressive warfare against the most insidious foes to the moral purity of the youth of this country.

The first few years of the existence of this organization were devoted to the discovery and punishment of the vendors and publishers of obscene books and pictures, and the dealers in articles for indecent and immoral purposes. Few of the readers of *OUR DAY* are aware, perhaps, that the business which this society assails consists in the distribution not only of books and pictures, which formerly were advertised on the same circular, as part and parcel of the same business, but also of articles for criminal abortion, preventing conception, aiding seduction, and for unreportable immoral use.

Realizing the fearful ravages of this evil, a little band of heroic men have stood in the face of bitterest hostility and opposition for the purity of the homes of this broad land. As a reward for their faithful service they have received obloquy, misrepresentation, and abuse without stint; but over and above all this they have the intense satisfaction of having done something to make the world better by sustaining a warfare against the most deadly foes that ever assailed the sanctity of the home or the purity of the children.

The president of this organization is Mr. Samuel Colgate, of 55 John Street, New York city, who throughout all these years has never once flinched, although he has been made the subject of the most infamous assaults from unscrupulous men, particularly by some of the organs of the Liberal "cancer-planters."

Mr. Morris K. Jesup was the first citizen in New York city that came to the front in sustaining this work, after it had been started by the present secretary of the society, Mr. Anthony Comstock. It will be remembered that in 1872, Mr. Comstock

was a clerk in a dry-goods house, without friends, without means, unfamiliar with court proceedings, and with no political influence. He had seen the curse to some of his associates caused by obscene books and pictures; and, without a knowledge of the extent or true character of the evil which he assailed, he undertook to prosecute certain dealers whom he had discovered supplying his associates with these things. He had scarcely started in this work before he discovered a systematic business, systematically carried on, to ruin and destroy the youth of this land. In his extremity and lack of friends and means, he wrote a pathetic appeal to the secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York city. For a while this letter received no response, until one day Mr. Morris K. Jesup, having casually seen it lying upon the secretary's desk at the rooms of the Association, called personally upon the author, and from that time to the present, with the other duties, cares, and responsibilities of a large business, Mr. Jesup has ever had a warm place in his heart for this cause, as well as for the agents who have so successfully carried it forward. Mr. Jesup secured the appointment of a committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, of which committee he was a member, to prosecute this work. This committee carried the matter forward until the incorporation of the society by the legislature of the State of New York in 1873. Messrs. Jesup, William E. Dodge, Jr., and the late William F. Lee were among the incorporators of this society, and since its organization have been members of the board of managers; Messrs. Jesup and Dodge as vice-presidents, and Mr. Lee as a member of the executive committee.

For a while this society had to contend with the lack of knowledge on the part of good men as to the evil with which they grappled. Again, one of the most serious difficulties has been to defend the action of the society when it has been assailed, because of the lack of means of presenting the facts to the public. The secular press, in many cases, has assailed this society, and then when an attempt has been made to correct the false impression given out to the public by their assaults, they have failed to publish the statement of the society.

The very nature of the business which this society attacks makes it impossible either to educate the public through the ordinary channels of communication — the press — or to defend its action when it has been falsely assailed. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, and this lack of support on the part of the general public, the board of managers of the Society for the Suppression of Vice have most heroically stood all these years as a wall of defense to homes of the land against the nefarious traffic which preys upon the weakness of our humanity.

Perhaps in no instance were facts ever so misrepresented, nor such a united effort made to crush the efforts of the society, or to malign its secretary and chief special agent, Mr. Comstock, as in the case of the Fifth Avenue art dealers who were arrested last November. Certain artists, without a knowledge of the facts, passed resolutions and caused them to be published in the various papers. One daily paper in this city devoted a whole page to reproducing certain pictures, which, it was claimed, were the subject-matter of the complaint of the society; when the fact was that not a single one of the pictures which were thus published, and given out to the public as the ones upon which the society had taken action, were in the complaint at all. After this paper had thus raised a false issue before the public, and the papers generally were adversely criticising the action of the society, at the regular semi-annual meeting of the Society of American Artists, held at 51 West 10th Street, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:—

Whereas, We learn that the officers and agents of the Society for the Suppression of Vice of this city are interfering with the sale of photographic reproductions of the works of some of the foremost of living painters, on the ground that said works are bad in their influence on public morals, . . .

Resolved, That we protest against this action of the Society for the Suppression of Vice as the work of incompetent persons, calculated to bring into bad repute one of the highest forms of art, and denounce such action as subversive of the best interests both of art and of morality.

This action of the artists, taken without any effort being made by them to ascertain from the society what the facts were, went

to swell adverse public opinion. The executive committee of the society, however, very heroically came to the front with resolutions indorsing the action of their agent, and assuming the responsibility of the prosecution. An account of this was sent to all the daily papers published in New York city, many of which would not publish the resolutions, while others would not even mention the action of the committee.

Notwithstanding the storm-cloud of adverse criticism, the officers and agents of this society stood firm, and their action resulted in the defendants coming into court, pleading "Guilty," and receiving the sentence of the court.

The committing magistrate, before whom the hearing was had as to whether these defendants should be held to trial, undertook to decide the question as to the character of these pictures on his own responsibility, and decided to hold them on two pictures only; unwittingly overruling the three highest courts of record in the State of New York, to wit, the Oyer and Terminer Court, the Supreme Court, and the Court of Appeals, all of whom had passed upon five of the pictures in question and condemned them. The general term of the Supreme Court, in passing upon these five pictures, said of them:—

They are photographs of nude women in a variety of attitudes and postures which the jury might very well, and naturally would determine to be both indecent and obscene in their character; ordinarily they would be so pronounced, although they would not exert the same demoralizing and sensual effects upon all persons alike. Their judgment would be the same, that these photographs and pictures would tend to promote vicious and sensual misconduct, and prove injurious to the morals of the community, especially to those whose judgment and experience were not sufficient to control the impulses of their passions. (*People v. Muller*, 32 Hun, p. 28.)

As a sequel to the faithful service of the officers and agents of this society, and their fidelity to the cause of public morals, we take pleasure in presenting the following resolutions that have been unanimously adopted at the various meetings named.

After the conviction of these art dealers, Mr. Comstock was invited to address the students at Princeton College. Philadelphia Hall was crowded, many could not get in, and expres-

sions of intense interest on the part of the students and professors who listened to Mr. Comstock were heard. The next day (March 30) the students in mass meeting assembled unanimously adopted the following resolutions : —

Believing the cause and work of Mr. Anthony Comstock to be beneficial in promoting public morality ; and

Recognizing that he has been grossly misrepresented by the press of the country, and as a result public opinion has been prejudiced thereby ; and

Firmly believing that he and the society which he represents deserve the support and hearty coöperation of all moral and high-minded people, and especially of young men in educational institutions ; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the students of Princeton College, assembled in mass-meeting, do hereby express our thorough appreciation of Mr. Comstock's work, and indorse his efforts in the suppression of vice ; and

Resolved, That we pledge him our sympathy, and assure him that our influence as men will be used in eradicating from the public mind its unjustly formed judgment of him and his methods, and to bring into activity that moral and Christian support which he so justly deserves in his world-purifying work.

April 15, on the invitation of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, in Washington, Mr. Comstock delivered an address at a mass-meeting held in the Congregational Church, corner Tenth and G Streets, Washington, D. C. The edifice was crowded by an audience said to exceed fourteen hundred people. The meeting was presided over by Hon. Hiram Price, of the House of Representatives ; while Hon. Mr. Taylor of Ohio, and Hon. Mr. Kerr of Iowa, members of the House of Representatives, were upon the platform. Most cordial expressions of sympathy were conveyed to Mr. Comstock at the close of his address.

Again, May 17, at the annual convention of the Baptist Home Mission Society, consisting of nearly twelve hundred delegates, held in the city of Washington, Mr. Samuel Colgate, president of that society as well of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and the presiding officer of the convention, asked to be

excused in order that he might accompany Mr. Comstock to the committee of the House of Representatives to oppose a bill calling for the repeal of the postal laws concerning the transmission of obscene matter by mail. The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the convention, and a committee, consisting of Mr. Samuel Colgate, Lieutenant-Governor Howard of Connecticut, Hon. Mr. Trasker of Ohio, Rev. Dr. Hanson of Chicago, and Judge Francis Wayland of Yale University, was appointed to go with Mr. Comstock before the committee on post-office and post-roads, in the House of Representatives ; where, through their efforts, the bill to repeal the law was killed in the committee.

The resolutions were as follows : —

Whereas, The preservation of the moral purity of the youth of this country is of highest importance to church and state alike, and the beginning of all true missionary reform ; and

Whereas, An attempt is being made by unprincipled men to corrupt the youth of this land by the systematic dissemination of obscene, lewd, and indecent publications and pictures, and articles of indecent and immoral use through the mails ; and

Whereas, We are informed that a bill has been introduced in Congress to repeal the act which prohibits the dissemination of such obscene, lewd, and immoral books, pictures, articles, and things ; therefore

Resolved, That it is the solemn sense and conviction of those in attendance upon the Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Home Mission Society being held in the city of Washington that such laws ought to be strengthened rather than repealed.

Resolved, That a committee of five, to include the president of this society, be appointed by the chair to appear before the sub-committee of the committee on post-office and post-roads in the House of Representatives to represent this, our emphatic protest against the proposed repeal of said laws.

May 27, a meeting was held in Horticultural Hall, Philadelphia, before which Mr. Comstock appeared and delivered a most effective address upon the evils against which this society contends. He took the ground that the society was doing a "home missionary work — a pioneer work for the church — in removing some of the masked enemies that were exerting their influence against the highest interest of society, church, and

state by assailing the moral purity of the children and youth." This immense hall was crowded with an audience composed largely of the prominent citizens of Philadelphia and delegates to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church then in session at that city. At the close of his address the following preamble and resolutions were offered by Mr. Samuel C. Brown of Philadelphia, and adopted unanimously by a rising vote. At this meeting Rev. Howard Crosby, D. D., of New York presided.

Resolved, As the sense of this vast Christian assemblage, composed largely of citizens of Philadelphia and commissioners to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church now in session in this city, that the moral purity of the children and youth of this land, as represented by the work of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, has no secondary place in the present Christian and philanthropic warfare against evil ;

Resolved, That we view with abhorrence the attempts of unprincipled persons to disseminate obscene, indecent, and criminal publications, pictures, or articles of indecent and immoral use, and kindred evils, and we equally detest those who attempt to repeal laws against these evils (as is now being done before Congress), hinder the enforcement of such laws, or corruptly and maliciously assail those who are engaged in the self-denying efforts of protecting the youth of the land from the deadly effects of these evils ;

Resolved, That we do hereby convey to the officers and chief special agent of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, who are the pioneers in this work of suppressing these evils, and who have so long heroically and faithfully battled for the moral purity of the youth of this land, our hearty thanks ; and assure them of our sympathy and confidence ; and further

Resolved, That we commend this all-important work of reform to all who are interested in the preservation of public morals and order, asking for its generous support, fair judgment, and heartiest coöperation.

As indicating the international usefulness of the society, we cite from the "Christian at Work" of March 31, 1888, the following suggestive article :—

The example set by the Society for the Suppression of Vice in this city has had its influence across the Atlantic, and has led to the or-

ganization in Paris of the Society for the Protection of Public Morality. A recent meeting was held in the Church of the Oratoire, in Paris, where a large and enthusiastic gathering manifested the object of this society. Senator Pressensé and other prominent gentlemen delivered effective speeches. It is proposed to hold meetings all over France. The article says that such meetings have already been held in Lyons, Havre, and other cities. Monster petitions are also being received to be presented to the Senate. Senator Pressensé is the Protestant senator of France. He declared that vicious literature was an evil threatening the life of the nation more than any other form of vice, and that it was to be feared worse than German bayonets. Zola's works were condemned as literary nastiness and the audience manifested itself by applause. In conclusion the senator said: "It is my firm conviction that a deepening repulsion is felt throughout the country for this impure literature, the vileness of which passes all description. Those who venture to repeat publicly their protest against it are abused and ridiculed by those who make their gain out of these scurrilous publications, as I myself have proved; but wherever the moral sense is not stifled the movement of the League meets with hearty support."

The article concludes with the statement that petitions are flowing in, and a great debate on the subject is expected in a few days.

As an illustration of the efficiency of this society, and the necessity of its continuing its efforts, and as an argument why good men should give it liberal support and furnish it ample means to work with, we present the result of a single complaint made by an anonymous letter, which was received July 16 by Mr. Comstock. He had just returned to the Catskill Mountains, where his family were, from a visit to the editor of *OUR DAY*, at his summer residence at Cliff Seat, Ticonderoga, N. Y., when his mail brought him an anonymous communication, giving information where an edition of several thousand copies of a book, to be illustrated by eighteen pictures of an indictable character, was about to be printed. Though Mr. Comstock was in the Catskills upon his summer vacation, and much needing rest, he took the next train to New York; and on Tuesday, July 17, before noon, he had caused three arrests, seizing the sheets for thirty thousand books, together with the plates from which

they were printed, including five hundred and forty thousand pictures. Twenty thousand of these books, and about three hundred and sixty thousand pictures, were seized in the hands of the printer; while ten thousand books, and the balance of the pictures, were seized in the hands of the binder. In a room where forty girls, and a number of young men were employed, Mr. Comstock found four girls busy at work binding up this foul matter. By his prompt action not a single copy of this edition went out of the hands of the binder into circulation.

July 25, he arrested six gamblers, raiding three places, and seizing about five hundred dollars' worth of gambling paraphernalia.

A visit to his office will disclose, in addition to this large seizure, sixteen mail sacks full of matter ready for the mail, and another sack containing more than ten thousand photographs, which have been seized within the past few weeks. This recent seizure swells the total seizures made by this society to nearly fifty-two tons; while the total number of arrests since the first of last January are fifty-nine; making a grand total of arrests made by this society to date to be 1297.

These things cannot but commend the work, and the men who are carrying it forward, to the consideration of every patriot and lover of humanity. Those who have wealth to devise cannot do a better thing than place ample funds in the hands of the heroic officers of this society, to enable them to wage this warfare against organized vice.

H. E. SIMMONS.

A RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION IN JAPAN.

It is stated that the publicists of Japan are discussing the propriety of an official adoption of the Christian religion, and are in large measure in favor of the step. They do not, they say, believe in Christianity, and are even repelled by its dogmas, holding that educated men should always be guided by pure reason ; but they think the adoption of the civilized creed essential to the perfection of their own civilization, and to the maintenance of a moral standard among their people. The Japanese, they say, have lost their old faiths, and it is indispensable for the safety of society and its development that they should have a new one. Without it they will never obtain that strong coherence and reliance on each other which is essential to a powerful state. Some of the reasons pleaded are of less importance than this last, which is not in the "Times's" narrative, one of those actually published being that only when Japan is Christian will its music ever improve ; and we dare say most of the readers of the account set it down as a mere digest of purely academic dissertations by half-informed or over-speculative men. That, however, is not the case. We have strong reason, wholly independent of the account in the "Mail," for believing that the persons who really govern Japan are discussing this proposal as earnestly as the publicists, and that, although there is a strong resisting party, it is still by no means impossible that Christianity may be declared by imperial decree the official religion of Japan. Some of the most influential councilors of the empire are of opinion that such a step is essential to further progress in civilization, "which cannot be based upon a weak *morale*," and all implicitly admit that it would be possible, that the indigenous creeds are dying or dead, and that the body of the Japanese would receive the new faith with acquiescence, as something quite within the educating province of their rulers. Of the accuracy of this view we cannot at this distance pretend to judge, but we know it to be held by powerful men, and the Japanese have accepted so many, such extensive, and one would think such annoying innovations, that the view is probably correct, and though we doubt whether the struggle can end in a victory for Christianity, which would involve a repudiation of the Mikado's claim to be, as a descendant of the gods, himself semi-divine, the chance is still serious enough to deserve a moment's discussion.

The first feeling of Englishmen on hearing of such a project is one of instinctive repulsion. The last few generations have been so trained in the idea that religion is a matter for the individual conscience alone, and that anything even savoring of persecution is morally wrong, that the promulgation of a creed by a despotic government as an official measure of education strikes them with a sort of horror. There can, they think, be no good

result from a step so opposed to the inner spirit of Christianity. Nobody's faith can be affected by such a proclamation, and for a whole people to profess a creed in which they do not believe must be either hypocrisy, or at the best a bit of histrionics of an objectionable, not to say a rather blasphemous sort. No man's spiritual state can be the better for any official announcement that a creed is true, unattended with an internal change in the minds of those who promulgate or obey it ; and a great religious revolution which benefits no man's religious condition must be useless to any country, and may be most injurious, as interfering with the natural, and therefore beneficial, diffusion of truly religious ideas. Conversion, in short, may be stopped instead of stimulated by the apparent acquiescence of an unbelieving people.

There is much force in these objections, and, indeed, if the Japanese believed either strongly or sincerely in any creed, even agnosticism, they would be final ; but this is alleged not to be the case. The assertion is that the bulk of the people of Japan, and more especially of the directing classes, have ceased to believe strongly in any creed whatever, and are precisely in that condition of mind when they will accept one at the hands of rulers who they think know more about what is true, or at all events what is wise, than they do themselves. The Japanese have learned from the failure of their own system to doubt everything, even themselves ; they have been profoundly impressed by the civilization of Europe, which they are acute enough to trace to something other than intelligence, to a difference of character not explicable by a mere theory of superior acuteness ; and they may be as ready to believe that the foreigners have found the best path in life, as they are to believe that they have found the best paths toward orderly society, the accumulation of scientific knowledge, and success in war. Such a condition of mind has repeatedly appeared in history. There seems to have been no resistance whatever to the decree of Constantine establishing Christianity, though the Pagans were still so numerous and so powerful that Julian was able, forty years after, to effect for a time his counter-revolution. The masses of barbarians who embraced Christianity, remaining barbarians still, must have been greatly influenced by a sense that the best Romans and their own most successful leaders were wiser than themselves, and must have accepted Christian teaching very much as they accepted Roman law and Roman culture, — as something clearly higher than anything they had. We recall no instance south of the Danube in which the acceptance of Christianity was followed either by a mutiny or by an open and deliberate return to the worship of the old gods. His authority was not in the least shaken by Vladimir's decree ordering the Russian world, then entirely Pagan, to become Christian — a stupendous event, of which not half enough has ever yet been written — and according to Russians, Paganism disappeared with marvelous, indeed almost miraculous rapidity, the whole people embracing and retaining the "Orthodox Faith" within a few years. Certainly the ecclesiastical organization peculiar to that faith was established throughout Russia with a speed and an entire success which preclude the idea of any serious or general popular resistance. The people must at heart have been nearly

creedless, and convinced that their rulers knew best ; and the Japanese may be in precisely that frame of mind, — a point upon which, of course, we can offer no opinion, and can form only this one, that a mistake about a people's faith, if there is a mistake, is a strange one for any national party to fall into. The Japanese directing classes are not foreigners, or in any way out of touch with the masses of their people. If, then, the people are ready to acquiesce in the proclamation of Christianity as an educating measure, like a proclamation in favor of Western culture, much of the objection to it disappears — we should say all of it, but for a doubt to be mentioned below — and the good to be obtained is obvious and large. In the first place, all teachers of Christianity, native and foreign, are set free. It is simply impossible to punish instruction which the state itself by law declares to be not only beneficial, but to be superior to any attainable in any other direction ; and to suppose that free instruction in the Christian creed will have no good result is to doubt beyond reason the converting energy of the faith. In the second place, inquiry is provoked among masses of men, and although the Japanese are singularly indisposed to religious thought, being, as regards the masses, quietly indifferent, and as regards the educated, preoccupied with ideas of material progress, still there must be among them, as among every other people, some potentiality of religious emotion, some dread of the unknown, some curiosity as to the whence and whither, which will in time develop great native teachers of the truth. And in the third place, the official acceptance of Christianity makes Christianity the basis of legislation to a degree which Europeans, from their very habitude, have half-forgotten. The fundamental laws, the edicts of governors, the administrative ways of rulers must, and almost invariably do, conform to the officially confessed creed. Christian governments may and do allow many things utterly unchristian ; but it is impossible for a Christian state to sanction acts admittedly at variance with its creed, to order a massacre, to legalize polygamy, or to set up an arena for gladiatorial shows. The laws must conform, in theory at all events, to the state religion ; and when that religion is Christianity, the laws must gradually become humane. We cannot see, we confess, why the Japanese hope should be fulfilled, and their civilization become stronger for an acceptance of Christianity which, at first at all events, must be perfunctory — the civilization of Rome, for example, did not develop after Constantine — but we can see why it must become a little more humane, a little more just, a little less openly impure ; and those advances are real advances, creditable to any change in the educating system which has produced them. No state nominally Christian can be quite as bad, we think, as a state nominally Pagan. Even Abyssinia is a little in advance of any purely Pagan country, or at least of any country at once Pagan and African, — a reservation forced upon us by some doubt as to the realities of the ancient civilization of Peru.

On the whole, we should think the open profession of Christianity by a Pagan state an advance toward the light, but for one inner dread. May not a people like the Japanese, accepting Christianity in profession, but

retaining not only Pagan hearts but Pagan minds, injure Christianity itself, develop it in some form so palpably bad as to hinder its diffusion throughout Asia ? We admit that the evidence by no means justifies any intensity in that fear. It was not realized among the tribes whom Charlemagne baptized by force ; and if it is objected that they were white, there is testimony both as to black and brown peoples. Three peoples have been in modern times Christianized by what we may call direct force, applied in the case of two of them with unrelenting and hideous cruelty, and while the lowest, the black population of the Southern States of the Union, has been raised out of savagery, the Mexican Indians have abandoned their bloodthirsty worship — probably the worst, certainly the most cruel, of all Pagan cults — and the Peruvian Indians are certainly no worse than they were before the Spaniards landed. None of the three have shown any disposition to develop monstrous forms of Christianity, and in none has the ideal of the faith been visibly degraded ; while in all, individuals who have reached a high level of personal sanctity have been regarded by their less spiritual fellow-men at least as ideals, counsels of perfection in the flesh. Nevertheless, while admitting the force of the evidence, we confess to a doubt whether a people like the Japanese, who are a gentler and weaker kind of Parisians, eager for knowledge, variable in mood, detached from all beliefs, moral as well as religious, callous if not cruel, and exceptionally salacious, may not so discredit Christianity when they have nominally adopted it as to become a distinct minus quantity in the spiritual forces of Asia, where hitherto this antiseptic thought has always reigned, that whatever the ultimate truth, religion is and must be the highest preoccupation of man. — *The (London) Spectator*.

ROBERT ELSMERE AND THE BATTLE OF BELIEF.¹

ARTICLE BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE IN THE MAY NUMBER OF
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

HUMAN nature, when aggrieved, is apt and quick in devising compensations. The increasing seriousness and strain of our present life may have had the effect of bringing about the large preference, which I understand to be exhibited in local public libraries, for works of fiction. This is the first expedient of revenge. But it is only a link in a chain. The next step is, that the writers of what might be grave books, *in esse* or *in posse*, have endeavored with some success to circumvent the multitude. Those who have systems or hypotheses to recommend in philosophy, conduct, or religion induct them into the costume of romance. Such was the second expedient of nature, the counterstroke of her revenge. When this was done in "Télémaque," "Rasselas," or "Cœlebs," it was not without literary effect. Even the last of these three appears to have been successful with its own generation. It would now be deemed intolerably dull. But a dull book is easily renounced. The more didactic fictions of the present day, so far as I know them, are not dull. We take them up, however, and we find that, when we meant to go to play, we have gone to school. The romance is a gospel of some philosophy, or of some religion; and requires sustained thought on many or some of the deepest subjects, as the only rational alternative to placing ourselves at the mercy of our author. We find that he has put upon us what is not indeed a treatise, but more formidable than if it were. For a treatise must nowhere beg the question it seeks to decide, but must carry its reader onwards by reasoning patiently from step to step. But the writer of the romance, under the convenient necessity which his form imposes, skips in thought, over undefined distances, from stage to stage, as a bee from flower to flower. A creed may (as here) be accepted in a sentence, and then abandoned in a page. But we the common herd of readers, if we are to deal with the consequences, to accept or repel the influence of the book, must, as in a problem of mathematics, supply the missing steps. Thus, in perusing as we ought a propagandist romance, we must terribly increase the pace; and it is the pace that kills.

Among the works to which the preceding remarks might apply, the most remarkable within my knowledge is "Robert Elsmere." It is, indeed, remarkable in many respects. It is a novel of nearly twice the length, and much more than twice the matter, of ordinary novels. It dispenses almost

¹ *Robert Elsmere*. By Mrs. Humphry Ward, author of *Miss Bretherton*. In 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1888.

entirely, in the construction of what must still be called its plot, with the aid of incident in the ordinary sense. We have indeed near the close a solitary individual crushed by a wagon, but this catastrophe has no relation to the plot, and its only purpose is to exhibit a good deathbed in illustration of the great missionary idea of the piece. The *nexus* of the structure is to be found wholly in the workings of character. The assumption and the surrender of a rectory are the most salient events, and they are simple results of what the actor has thought right. And yet the great, nay, paramount function of character-drawing, the projection upon the canvas of human beings endowed with the true forces of nature and vitality, does not appear to be by any means the master-gift of the authoress. In the mass of matter which she has prodigally expended there might obviously be retrenchment; for there are certain laws of dimension which apply to a novel, and which separate it from an epic. In the extraordinary number of personages brought upon the stage in one portion or other of the book, there are some which are elaborated with greater pains and more detail than their relative importance seems to warrant. "*Robert Elsmere*" is hard reading, and requires toil and effort. Yet, if it be difficult to persist, it is impossible to stop. The prisoner on the treadmill must work severely to perform his task; but if he stops he at once receives a blow which brings him to his senses. Here, as there, it is human infirmity which shrinks; but here, as not there, the propelling motive is within. Deliberate judgment and deep interest alike rebuke a fainting reader. The strength of the book, overbearing every obstacle, seems to lie in an extraordinary wealth of diction, never separated from thought; in a close and searching faculty of social observation; in generous appreciation of what is morally good, impartially¹ exhibited in all directions: above all in the sense of mission with which the writer is evidently possessed, and in the earnestness and persistency of purpose with which through every page and line it is pursued. The book is eminently an offspring of the time, and will probably make a deep or at least a very sensible impression; not, however, among mere novel readers, but among those who share, in whatever sense, the deeper thought of the period.

The action begins in a Westmoreland valley, where the three young daughters of a pious clergyman are grouped around a mother infirm in health and without force of mind. All responsibility devolves accordingly upon Catherine, the eldest of the three; a noble character, living only for duty and affection. When the ear heard her, then it blessed her; and when the eye saw her, it gave witness to her.² Here comes upon the scene Robert Elsmere, the eponymist and hero of the book, and the ideal, almost the idol, of the authoress.

¹ Mrs. Ward has given evidence of this impartiality in her Dedication to the memory of two friends, of whom one, Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, lived and died unshaken in belief. The other is more or less made known in the pages of the work.

² See Job xxix. 11.

He had been brought up at Oxford, in years when the wholesale discomfiture of the great religious movement in the University, which followed upon the secession of Cardinal Newman, had been in its turn succeeded by a new religious reaction. The youth had been open to the personal influences of a tutor, who is in the highest degree beautiful, classical, and indifferentist ; and of a noble-minded rationalizing teacher, whose name, Mr. Grey, is the thin disguise of another name, and whose lofty character, together with his gifts, and with the tendencies of the time, had made him a power in Oxford. But, in its action on a nature of devout susceptibilities as well as active talents, the place is stronger than the man, and Robert casts in his lot with the ministry of the church. Let us stop at this point to notice the terms used. At St. Mary's "the sight and the experience touched his inmost feeling, and satisfied all the poetical and dramatic instincts of a passionate nature."¹ He "carried his religious passion . . . into the service of the great positive tradition around him." This great and commonly life-governing decision is taken under the influence of forces wholly emotional. It is first after the step taken that we have an inkling of any reason for it.² This is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a key to the entire action. The work may be summed up in this way : it represents a battle between intellect and emotion. Of right, intellect wins ; and, having won, enlists emotion in its service.

Elsmere breaks upon us in Westmoreland, prepared to make the great commission the business of his life, and to spend and be spent in it to the uttermost. He is at once attracted by Catherine ; attention forthwith ripens into love ; and love finds expression in a proposal. But, with a less educated intelligence, the girl has a purpose of life not less determined than the youth. She believes herself to have an outdoor vocation in the glen, and above all an indoor vocation in her family, of which she is the single prop. A long battle of love ensues, fought out with not less ability, and with even greater tenacity, than the remarkable conflict of intellects, carried on by correspondence, which ended in the marriage between Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle. The resolute tension of the two minds has many phases ; and a double crisis, first of refusal, secondly of acceptance. This part of the narrative, wrought out in detail with singular skill, will probably be deemed the most successful, the most normal, of the whole. It is thoroughly noble on both sides. The final surrender of Catherine is in truth an opening of the eyes to a wider view of the evolution of the individual, and of the great vocation of life ; and it involves no disparagement. The garrison evacuates the citadel, but its arms have not been laid down, and its colors are flying still.

So the pair settle themselves in a family living, full of the enthusiasm of humanity, which is developed with high energy in every practical detail, and based upon the following of the Incarnate Saviour. Equipped thus far with all that renders life desirable, their union is blessed by the birth of a daughter, and everything thrives around them for the formation of an ideal parish.

¹ i. 121, 123.² i. 128.

But the parish is adorned by a noble old English mansion, and the mansion inhabited by a wealthy Squire, who knows little of duty, but is devoted to incessant study. As an impersonated intellect, he is abreast of all modern inquiry, and, a "Tractarian" in his youth, he has long abandoned all belief. At the outset, he resents profoundly the Rector's obtrusive concern for his neglected tenantry. But the courage of the clergyman is not to be damped by isolation, and in the case of a scandalously insanitary hamlet, after an adequate number of deaths, Mr. Wendover puts aside the screen called his agent, and rebuilds with an ample generosity. This sudden and complete surrender seems to be introduced to glorify the hero of the work, for it does not indicate any permanent change in the social ideas of Mr. Wendover, but only in his relations to his clergyman.

There is, however, made ready for him a superlative revenge. Robert has enjoyed the use of his rich library, and the two hold literary communications, but with a compact of silence on matters of belief. This treaty is honorably observed by the Squire. But the clergyman invites his fate.¹ Mr. Wendover makes known to him a great design for a "History of Testimony,"² worked out through many centuries. The book speaks, indeed, of "the long wrestle" of the two men, and the like.³ But of Elsmere's wrestling there is no other trace or sign. What weapons the Rector wielded for his faith, what strokes he struck, has not even in a single line been recorded. The discourse of the Squire points out that theologians are men who decline to examine evidence, that miracles are the invention of credulous ages, that the preconceptions sufficiently explain the results. He wins in a canter. There cannot surely be a more curious contrast than that between the real battle, fought in a hundred rounds, between Elsmere and Catherine on marriage, and the fictitious battle between Elsmere and the Squire on the subject of religion, where the one side is a pæan, and the other a blank. A great creed, with the testimony of eighteen centuries at its back, cannot find an articulate word to say in its defense, and the downfall of the scheme of belief shatters also, and of right, the highly ordered scheme of life that had nestled in the Rectory of Murewell, as it still does in thousands of other English parsonages.

It is notable that Elsmere seeks, in this conflict with the Squire, no aid or counsel whatever. He encounters, indeed, by chance, Mr. Newcome, a Ritualistic clergyman, whom the generous sympathies of the authoress place upon the roll of his friends. But the language of Mr. Newcome offers no help to his understanding. It is this :—

Trample on yourself. Pray down the demon, fast, scourge, kill the body, that the soul may live. What are we miserable worms, that we should defy the Most High, that we should set our wretched faculties against His Omnipotence ?⁴

Mr. Newcome appears everywhere as not only a respectable, but a remarkable, character. But as to what he says here, how much does it amount to ? Considered as a medicine for a mind diseased, for an unsettled, dislocated

¹ ii. 243.² ii. 240.³ ii. 244, 245.⁴ ii. 270.

soul, is it less or more than pure nonsense? In the work of an insidious non-believer, it would be set down as part of his fraud. Mrs. Ward evidently gives it in absolute good faith. It is one in a series of indications, by which this gifted authoress conveys to us, what appears to be her thoroughly genuine belief that historical Christianity has, indeed, broad grounds and deep roots in emotion, but in reason none whatever.

The revelation to the wife is terrible; but Catherine clings to her religion on a basis essentially akin to that of Newcome; and the faith of these eighteen centuries, and of the prime countries of the world,

Bella, immortal, benefica
Fede, ai trionfi avvezza,¹

is dismissed without a hearing.

For my own part, I humbly retort on Robert Elsmere. Considered intellectually, his proceedings in regard to belief appear to me, from the beginning, as well as in the downward process, to present dismal gaps. But the emotional part of his character is complete, nay redundant. There is no moral weakness or hesitation. There rises up before him the noble maxim, assigned to the so-called Mr. Grey (with whom he has a consultation of foregone conclusions), "Conviction is the conscience of the mind."

He renounces his parish and his orders. He still believes in God, and accepts the historical Christ as a wonderful man, good among the good, but a *primus inter pares*. Passing through a variety of stages, he devotes himself to the religion of humanity; reconciles to the new gospel, by shoals, skilled artisans of London who had been totally inaccessible to the old one; and nobly kills himself with overwork, passing away in a final flood of light. He founds and leaves behind him the "New Christian Brotherhood" of Elgood Street; and we are at the close apprised, with enthusiastic sincerity, that this is the true effort of the race,² and

Others I doubt not, if not we,
The issue of our toils shall see.

Who can grudge to this absolutely pure-minded and very distinguished writer the comfort of having at last found the true specific for the evils and miseries of the world? None surely who bear in mind that the Salvation Army has been known to proclaim itself the church of the future, or who happen to know that Bunsen, when, in 1841, he had procured the foundation of the bishopric of Jerusalem, suggested in private correspondence his hope that this might be the church which would meet the glorified Redeemer at his coming.

It is necessary here to revert to the Squire. Himself the *μείρα πέτρομενη*, the supreme arbiter of destinies in the book, he is somewhat unkindly treated; his mind at length gives way, and a darkling veil is drawn over the close. Here seems to be a little literary intolerance, something even savoring of a religious test. Robert Elsmere stopped in the downward slide at theism, and it calms and glorifies his deathbed. But the Squire had not stopped

¹ Manzoni's *Cinque Maggio*.

² iii. 411; comp. 276.

there. He had said to Elsmere,¹ "You are playing into the hands of the Blacks. All this theistic philosophy of yours only means so much grist to their mill in the end." But the great guide is dismissed from his guiding office as summarily as all other processes are conducted, which are required by the purpose of the writer. Art everywhere gives way to purpose. Elsmere no more shows cause for his theism than he had shown it against his Christianity. Why was not Mr. Wendover allowed at least the consolations which gave a satisfaction to David Hume?

Not yet, however, may I wholly part from this sketch of the work. It is so large that much must be omitted. But there is one limb of the plan which is peculiar. Of the two sisters not yet named, one, Agnes by name, appears only as quasi-chaperon, or as "dummie." But Rose, the third, has beauty, the gift of a musical artist, and quick and plastic social faculties. Long and elaborate love relations are developed between her and the *pocourante* tutor and friend, Mr. Langham. Twice she is fairly embarked in passion for him, and twice he jilts her. Still she is not discouraged, and she finally marries a certain Flaxman, an amiable but somewhat manufactured character. From the standing point of art, can this portion of the book fail to stir much misgiving? We know from Shakespeare how the loves of two sisters can be comprised within a single play. But while the drama requires only one connected action, the novel, and eminently this novel, aims rather at the exhibition of a life: and the reader of these volumes may be apt to say that in working two such lives, as those of Catherine and Rose, through so many stages, the authoress has departed from previous example, and has loaded her ship, though a gallant one, with more cargo than it will bear.

It may indeed be that Mrs. Ward has been led to charge her tale with such a weight of matter from a desire to give philosophical completeness to her representation of the main springs of action which mark the life of the period. For in Robert Elsmere we have the tempered but aggressive action of the skeptical intellect; in Catherine the strong reaction against it; in Rose the art-life; and in Langham the literary and cultivated indifference of the time. The comprehensiveness of such a picture may be admitted, without withdrawing the objection that, as a practical result, the cargo is too heavy for the vessel.

Apart from this question, is it possible to pass without a protest the double jilt? Was Rose, with her quick and self-centred life, a well-chosen *corpus vile* upon whom to pass this experiment? More broadly, though credible perhaps for a man, is such a process in any case possible by the laws of art for a woman? Does she not violate the first conditions of her nature in exposing herself to so piercing an insult? An enhancement of delicate self-respect is one among the compensations which Providence has supplied in woman, to make up for a deficiency in some ruder kinds of strength.

Again, I appeal to the laws of art against the final disposal of Catherine. Having much less of ability than her husband, she is really drawn with greater

¹ iii. 226.

force and truth ; and possesses so firm a fibre that when, having been bred in a school of some intolerance, she begins to blunt the edge of her resistance, and to tolerate in divers ways, without adopting, the denuded system of her husband, we begin to feel that the key-note of her character is being tampered with. After his death, the discords become egregious. She remains, as she supposes, orthodox and tenaciously evangelical. But every knee must be made to bow to Elsmere. So she does not return to the northern valley and her mother's declining age, but in London devotes her week-days to carrying on the institutions of charity he had founded on behalf of his new religion. He had himself indignantly remonstrated with some supposed clergyman, who, in the guise of a Broad Churchman, at once held Elsmere's creed, and discharged externally the office of an Anglican priest. He, therefore, certainly is not responsible for having taught her to believe the chasm between them was a narrow one. Yet she leaps or steps across it every Sunday, attending her church in the forenoon, and looming as regularly every afternoon in the temple of the New Brotherhood. Here surely the claims of system have marred the work of art. Characters might have been devised whom this see-saw would have suited well enough ; but for the Catherine of the first volume it is an unmitigated solecism ; a dismal, if not even a degrading compromise.

It has been observed that the women of the book are generally drawn with more felicity than the men. As a work of art, Rose is, in my view, the most successful of the women, and among the men the Squire. With the Squire Mrs. Ward is not in sympathy, for he destroys too much, and he does nothing but destroy. She cannot be in sympathy with Rose ; for Rose, who is selfishly and heartlessly used, is herself selfish and heartless ; with this aggravation, that she has grown up in immediate contact with a noble elder sister, and yet has not caught a particle of nobleness, as well as in view of an infirm mother, to whom she scarcely gives a care. On the other hand, in her Robert, who has all Mrs. Ward's affection, and almost her worship, and who is clothed with a perfect panoply of high qualities, she appears to be less successful and more artificial. In the recently published correspondence¹ of Sir Henry Taylor, who was by no means given to paradox, we are told that great earnestness of purpose and strong adhesive sympathies in an author are adverse to the freedom and independence of treatment, the disembarassed movement of the creative hand, which are required in the supreme poetic office of projecting character on the canvas. If there be truth in this novel and interesting suggestion, we cannot wonder at finding the result exhibited in "*Robert Elsmere*," for never was a book written with greater persistency and intensity of purpose. Every page of its principal narrative is adapted and addressed by Mrs. Ward to the final aim which is bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh. This aim is to expel the preternatural element from Christianity, to destroy its dogmatic structure, yet to keep intact the moral and spiritual results. The Brotherhood presented to us with such sanguine hopefulness is a "Christian" brotherhood,

¹ Page 17.

but with a Christianity emptied of that which Christians believe to be the soul and springhead of its life. For Christianity, in the established Christian sense, is the presentation to us, not of abstract dogmas for acceptance, but of a living and a Divine Person, to whom they are to be united by a vital incorporation. It is the reunion to God of a nature severed from God by sin, and the process is one, not of teaching lessons, but of imparting a new life, with its ordained equipment of gifts and powers.

It is, I apprehend, a complete mistake to suppose, as appears to be the supposition of this remarkable book, that all which has to be done with Scripture, in order to effect the desired transformation of religion, is to eliminate from it the miraculous element. Tremendous as is the sweeping process which extrudes the Resurrection, there is much else, which is in no sense miraculous, to extrude along with it. The Procession of Palms, for example, is indeed profoundly significant, but it is in no way miraculous. Yet, in any consistent history of a Robert Elsmere's Christ, there could be no Procession of Palms. Unless it be the healing of the ear of Malchus, there is not a miraculous event between the commencement of the Passion and the Crucifixion itself. Yet the notes of a superhuman majesty overspread the whole. We talk of all religions as essentially one; but what religion presents to its votaries such a tale as this? Bishop Temple, in his sermons at Rugby, has been among the later teachers who have shown how the whole behavior of our Lord, in this extremity of his abasement, seems more than ever to transcend all human limits, and to exhibit without arguing his Divinity. The parables, again, are not less refractory than the miracles, and must disappear along with them: for what parables are there which are not built upon the idea of his unique and transcendent office? The Gospel of Saint John has much less of miracle than the Synoptics; but it must of course descend from its pedestal, in all that is most its own. And what is gained by all this condemnation, until we get ride of the baptismal formula? It is a question not of excision from the gospel, but of tearing them into shreds. Far be it from me to deny that the parts which remain, or which remain legible, are vital parts; but this is no more than to say that there may remain vital organs of a man, after the man himself has been cut in pieces.

I have neither space nor capacity at command for the adequate discussion of the questions which shattered the faith of Robert Elsmere: whether miracles can happen, and whether "an universal preconception"¹ in their favor at the birth of Christianity "governing the work of all men of all schools,"² adequately accounts for the place which has been given them in the New Testament, as available proofs of the Divine mission of our Lord. But I demur on all the points to the authority of the Squire, and even to Mr. Grey.

The impossibility of miracle is a doctrine which appears to claim for its basis the results of physical inquiry. They point to unbroken sequences in material nature, and refer every phenomenon to its immediate antecedent,

¹ ii. 246, 247.

² ii. 246, 247.

as adequate to its orderly production. But the appeal to these great achievements of our time is itself disorderly, for it calls upon natural science to decide a question which lies beyond its precinct. There is an extraneous force of will which acts upon matter in derogation of laws purely physical, or alters the balance of those laws among themselves. It can be neither philosophical nor scientific to proclaim the impossibility of a miracle, until philosophy or science shall have determined a limit, beyond which this extraneous force of will, so familiar to our experience, cannot act upon or deflect the natural order.

Next, as to that avidity for miracle which is supposed by the omniscient Squire to account for the invention of it. Let it be granted, for argument's sake, that if the gospel had been intended only for the Jews, they at least were open to the imputation of a biasing and blinding appetite for signs and wonders. But scarcely had the Christian scheme been established among the Jews, when it began to take root among the Gentiles. It will hardly be contended that these Gentiles, who detested and despised the Jewish race, had any predisposition to receive a religion at their hands or upon their authority. Were they, then, during the century which succeeded our Lord's birth, so swayed by a devouring thirst for the supernatural as to account for the early reception, and the steady if not rapid growth, of the Christian creed among them? The statement of the Squire, which carries Robert Elsmere, is that the preconception in favor of miracles at the period "governed the work of all men of all schools."¹ A most gross and palpable exaggeration. In philosophy the Epicurean school was atheistic, the Stoic school was ambiguously theistic, and doubt nestled in the Academy. Christianity had little direct contact with these schools, but they acted on the tone of thought, in a manner not favorable but adverse to the preconception.

Meantime the power of religion was in decay. The springs of it in the general mind and heart were weakened. A deluge of profligacy had gone far to destroy, at Rome, even the external habit of public worship, and Horace, himself an indifferentist,² denounces the neglect and squalor of the temples; while farther on we have the stern and emphatic testimony of Juvenal:—

*Esse aliquid Manes, et subterranea regna,
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigrae,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.*³

The age was not an age of faith, among thinking and ruling classes, either in natural or in supernatural religion. There had been indeed a wonderful "evangelical preparation" in the sway of the Greek language, in the unifying power of the Roman State and Empire, and in the utter moral failure of the grand and dominant civilizations; but not in any virgin soil, yearning for the sun, the rain, or the seed of truth.

But the Squire, trading in the footprints of Gibbon's fifteenth chapter, leaves it to be understood that, in the appeal to the supernatural, the new

¹ ii. 247.

² Hor. *Od.* i. 34; iii. 6.

³ *Sat.* ii. 150.

religion enjoyed an exclusive as well as an overpowering advantage ; that it had a patent for miracle which none could infringe. Surely this is an error even more gross than the statement already cited about all men of all schools. The supernatural was interwoven with the entire fabric of the religion of the Roman State, which, if weak and effete as a religious discipline, was of extraordinary power as a social institution. It stood, if not on faith yet on nationality, on tradition, on rich endowments, on the deeply interested attachment of a powerful aristocracy, and on that policy of wide conciliation which gave to so many creeds, less exclusive than the Christian, a cause common with its own.

Looking for a comprehensive description of miracles, we might say that they constitute a language of heaven embodied in material signs, by which communication is established between the Deity and man, outside the daily course of nature and experience. Distinctions may be taken between one kind of miracle and another. But none of these are distinctions in principle. Sometimes they are alleged to be the offspring of a Divine power committed to the hands of particular men ; sometimes they are simple manifestations unconnected with human agency, and carrying with them their own meaning, such as the healings in Bethesda ; sometimes they are a system of events and of phenomena subject to authoritative and privileged interpretation. Miracle, portent, prodigy, and sign are all various forms of one and the same thing, namely, an invasion of the known and common natural order from the side of the supernatural. In the last-named case there is an expression of the authorized human judgment upon it, while in the earlier ones there is only a special appeal to it. They rest upon one and the same basis. We may assign to miracle a body and a soul. It has for its body something accepted as being either in itself or in its incidents outside the known processes of ordinary nature, and for its soul the alleged message which in one shape or another it helps to convey from the Deity to man. This supernatural element, as such, was at least as familiar to the Roman heathenism as to the Christian scheme. It was indeed more highly organized. It was embodied in the regular and normal practice of the ministers of religion, and especially, under the jurisdiction of the pontifical college, it was the regular and standing business of the augurs to observe, report, and interpret the supernatural signs by which the gods gave reputed instructions to men outside the course of nature. Sometimes it was by strange atmospheric phenomena ; sometimes by physical prodigies, as when a woman produced a snake,¹ or a calf was born with its head in its thigh ;² whereupon, says Tacitus, *secuta haruspicum interpretatio*. Sometimes through events only preternatural from the want of assignable cause, as when the statue of Julius Cæsar, on an island in the Tiber, turned itself round from west to east.³ Sometimes with an approximation to the Christian signs and wonders, as when Vespasian removed with spittle the *tabes oculorum*, and restored the impotent hand.⁴ It does not readily appear

¹ Tac. Ann. xiv. 12.² *Ibid.* xv. 47.³ Tac. Hist. i. 86.⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 81.

why in principle the Romans, who had the supernatural for their daily food in a shape sustained by the unbroken tradition of their country, should be violently attracted by the mere exhibition of it from a despised source, and in a manner less formal, less organized, and less known. In one important way we know the accepted supernatural of the Romans operated with direct and telling power against the gospel. *Si calum stetit, si terra movit, Christianos ad leones.*¹ Or, in the unsuspected language of Tacitus, *dum latius metuitur, trepidatione vulgi, invalidus quisque obtriti.* When the portents were unfavorable, and there was fear of their extension, the weak had to suffer from the popular alarms.²

The upshot of the matter then appears to be something like this :—

The lowly and despised preachers of Christian portent were confronted everywhere by the highborn and accomplished caste sworn to the service of the gods, familiar from centuries of tradition with the supernatural and supported at every point with the whole force and influence of civil authority. Nor has there ever probably been a case of a contest so unequal, as far as the powers of this world are concerned. Tainted in its origin by its connection with the detested Judaism, odious to the prevailing tone by its exclusiveness, it rested originally upon the testimony of men few, poor, and ignorant, and for a length of time no human genius was enlisted in its service, with the single exception of Saint Paul. All that we of this nineteenth century know, and know so well, under the name of vested interests, is insignificant compared with the embattled fortress that these humble Christians had to storm. And the Squire, if he is to win the day with minds less ripe for conversion than Robert Elsmere, must produce some other suit of weapons from his armory.

With him I now part company, as his thoroughgoing negation parts company with the hybrid scheme of Mrs. Ward. It is of that scheme that I now desire to take a view immediately practical.

In a concise but striking notice in the "Times"³ it is placed in the category of "clever attacks upon revealed religion." It certainly offers us a substitute for revealed religion; and possibly the thought of the book might be indicated in these words: "The Christianity accepted in England is a good thing; but come with me, and I will show you a better."

It may, I think, be fairly described as a devout attempt, made in good faith, to simplify the difficult mission of religion in the world by discarding the supposed lumber of the Christian theology, while retaining and applying, in their undiminished breadth of scope, the whole personal, social, and spiritual morality which has now, as matter of fact, entered into the patrimony of Christendom; and, since Christendom is the dominant power of the world, into the patrimony of the race. It is impossible, indeed, to conceive a more religious life than the later life of Robert Elsmere, in his sense of the word religion. And that sense is far above the sense in which religion is held, or practically applied, by great multitudes of Christians. It is, however, a new form of religion. The question is, can it be actually

¹ Tertull. *Apol.* 40.

² Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43.

³ *Times*, April 7, 1888.

and beneficially substituted for the old one. It abolishes of course the whole authority of Scripture. It abolishes also church, priesthood or ministry, sacraments, and the whole established machinery which trains the Christian as a member of a religious society. These have been regarded by fifty generations of men as wings of the soul. It is still required by Mrs. Ward to fly, and to fly as high as ever ; but it is to fly without wings. For baptism, we have a badge of silver, and inscription in a book.¹ For the Eucharist there is at an ordinary meal a recital of the fragment, "This do in remembrance of Me." The children respond, "Jesus, we remember thee always." It is hard to say that prayer is retained. In the Elgood Street service, "it is rather an act of adoration and faith, than a prayer properly so called,"² and it appears that memory and trust are the instruments on which the individual is to depend, for maintaining his communion with God. It would be curious to know how the New Brotherhood is to deal with the great mystery of marriage, perhaps the truest touchstone of religious revolution.

It must be obvious to every reader that in the great duel between the old faith and the new, as it is fought in "*Robert Elsmere*," there is a great inequality in the distribution of the arms. Reasoning is the weapon of the new scheme ; emotion the sole resource of the old. Neither Catherine nor Newcome have a word to say beyond the expression of feeling ; and it is when he has adopted the negative side that the hero himself is fully introduced to the faculty of argument. This is a singular arrangement, especially in the case of a writer who takes a generous view of the Christianity that she only desires to supplant by an improved device. The explanation may be simple. There are abundant signs in the book that the negative speculatists have been consulted if not ransacked ; but there is nowhere a sign that the authoress has made herself acquainted with the Christian apologists, old or recent ; or has weighed the evidences derivable from the Christian history ; or has taken measure of the relation in which the doctrines of grace have historically stood to the production of the noblest, purest, and greatest characters of the Christian ages. If such be the case, she has skipped lightly (to put it no higher) over vast mental spaces of literature and learning relevant to the case, and has given sentence in the cause without hearing the evidence.

It might perhaps be not unjust to make a retort upon the authoress, and say that while she believes herself simply to be yielding obedience to reason, her movement is in reality impelled by bias. We have been born into an age, when, in the circles of literature and science, there is a strong antidogmatic leaning, a prejudice which may largely intercept the action of judgment. Partly because belief has its superstitions, and the detection of these superstitions opens the fabric to attack, like a breach in the wall of a fortress when at a given point it has been stuffed with unsound material. Partly because the rapidity of the movement of the time predisposes the mind to novelty. Partly because the multiplication of enjoyments, through

¹ iii. 358.² iii. 380.

the progress of commerce and invention, enhances the materialism of life, strengthens by the forces of habit the hold of the seen world upon us, and leaves less both of brain power and of heart power available for the unseen. Enormous accretion of wealth is no more deprived of its sting now, than it was when Saint Paul penned his profoundly penetrating admonition to Timothy.¹ And when, under the present conditions, it happens that the environment of personal association represents either concentrated hostility or hopeless diversity in religion, there may be hardly a chance for firm and measured belief. What we find to be troublesome, yet from some inward protest are not prepared wholly to reject, we like to simplify and reduce; and the instances of good and devoted men who are averse to dogma, more frequent than usual in this age, are powerful to persuade us that in lightening the cargo we are really securing the safe voyage of the ship. "About dogma we hear dispute, but the laws of high social morality no speculation is disposed to question. Why not get rid of the disputable, and concentrate all our strength on grasping the undisputed?" We may by a little wrestling quote high authority for this recommendation. "Whereto we have already attained . . . let us mind the same thing. . . . And if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you."² It is not difficult to conceive how, under the action of causes with which the time abounds, pure and lofty minds, wholly guiltless of the intention to impair or lower the motive forces of Christianity, may be led into the snare, and may even conceive a process in itself destructive to be, on the contrary, conservative and reparatory.

But it is a snare none the less. And first let us recollect, when we speak of renouncing Christian dogma, what it is that we mean. The germ of it as a system lies in the formula, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."³ This was speedily developed into the substance of the Apostles' Creed: the Creed which forms our confession of individual faith, in baptism and on the bed of death. Now belief in God, which forms (so to speak) the first great limb of the Creed, is strictly a dogma, and is on no account, according to Mrs. Ward, to be surrendered. But the second and greatest portion of the Creed contains twelve propositions, of which nine are matters of fact, and the whole twelve have for their office the setting forth to us of a Personage, to whom a great dispensation has been committed. The third division of the Creed is more dogmatic, but it is bound down like the second to earth and fact by the article of the church, a visible and palpable institution. The principal purely dogmatic part of this great document is the part which is to be retained. And we, who accept the Christian story, are entitled to say, that to extrude from a history, tied to strictly human facts, that by which they become a standing channel of organic connection between Deity and humanity, is not presumptively a very hopeful mode of strengthening our belief in God, thus deprived of its props and accessories. The chasm between Deity and the human soul, over which the scheme of Redemption has thrown a bridge, again yawns beneath our feet, in all its breadth and depth.

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 9.

² Phil. iii. 15, 16.

³ St. Matt. xxviii. 19.

Although the Divinity of Christ is not put prominently forward in this book, but rather the broader objection to supernatural manifestations, yet it will be found to be the real hinge of the entire question. For, if Christ be truly God, few will deny that the exceptional incidents, which follow in the train of his appearance upon earth, raise, in substance, no new difficulty. Is it true, then, that Christians have been so divided on this subject as to promise us a return of peace and progress by its elimination?

To answer this question rightly, we must not take the humor of this or that particular time or country, but must regard the Christian system in its whole extension, and its whole duration. So regarding it, we shall find that the assertion, far from being true, is glaringly untrue. The truth in rude outline is surely this. That when the gospel went out into the world, the greatest of all the groups of controversies, which progressively arose within its borders, was that which concerned the true nature of the Object of worship. That these controversies ran through the most important shapes which have been known to the professing church of later years, and through many more. That they rose, especially in the fourth century, to such a height, amidst the conflict of councils, popes, and theologians, that the private Christian was too often like the dove wandering over the waters, and seeking in vain a resting-place for the sole of his foot. That the whole mind and heart of the church were given, in their whole strength and through a lengthened period, to find some solution of these controversies. That many generations passed before Arianism wholly ceased to be the basis of Christian profession in spots or sections of Christendom, but not so long before the central thought of the body as a whole had come to be fixed in the form of what has ever since, and now for over fourteen hundred years, been known as the orthodox belief. The authority of this tradition, based upon the Scriptures, has through all that period been upheld at the highest point to which a marvelous continuity and universality could raise it. It was not impeached by the questioning mind of the thirteenth century. The scientific revolution, which opened to us the antipodes and the solar system, did not shake it. The more subtle dangers of the Renaissance were dangers to Christianity as a whole, but not to this great element of Christianity as a part. And when the terrible struggles of the Reformation stirred every coarse human passion as well as every fond religious interest into fury, even then the Nicene belief, as Möhler in his *Symbolik* has so well observed, sat undisturbed in a region elevated above the controversies of the time; which only touched it at points so exceptional, and comparatively so obscure, as not appreciably to qualify its majestic authority. A Christianity without Christ is no Christianity; and a Christ not Divine is one other than the Christ on whom the souls of Christians have habitually fed. What virtue, what piety, have existed outside of Christianity is a question totally distinct. But to hold that, since the great controversy of the early time was wound up at Chalcedon, the question of our Lord's Divinity (which draws after it all that Robert Elsmere would excise) has generated the storms of the Christian atmosphere, would be simply an historical untruth. How then is the work

of peace to be promoted by the excision from our creed of that central truth on which we are generally agreed ?

The onward movement of negation in the present day has presented perhaps no more instructive feature than this, that the Unitarian persuasion has, in this country at least, by no means thriven upon it. It might have been thought that, in the process of dilapidation, here would have been a point at which the receding tide of belief would have rested at any rate for a while. But instead of this, we are informed that the numbers of professed Unitarians have increased less than those of other communions, and less than the natural growth of the population. And we find Mrs. Ward herself describing the old Unitarian scheme¹ as one wholly destitute of logic ; but in what respect she improves upon it I have not yet perceived.

In order to invest any particular propagandism with a show of presumptive title to our acceptance, its author should be able to refer it to some standard of appeal which will show that it has foundations otherwise than in mere private judgment or active imagination. The books of the New Testament I understand to be, for Mrs. Ward, of no value except for the moral precepts they contain. Still less may we invoke the authority of the Old Testament, where the ethical picture is more checkered. She finds no spell in the great moral miracle (so to phrase it) of the Psalms ; nor in the marvellous *propaidea* of the Jewish history, so strikingly confirmed by recent research ; in the Levitical law, the prophetic teaching, the entire dispensation of temporal promise and of religious worship and instruction, by which the Hebrew race was kept in social isolation through fifteen centuries, as a cradle for the Redeemer that was to come. She is not awakened by the Christian more than by the Jewish history. No way to her assent is opened by the great victory of the world's babes and striplings over its philosophers and scholars, and the serried array of emperors, aristocracies, and statesmen with their elaborate apparatus of organized institutions. All this cogent mass of human testimony is rendered, I admit, on behalf not of a vague and arbitrary severance of Christian morals from the roots which have produced them, out of what we term the Christian dogma, that is to say, of belief in God supplemented and brought home by the great fact of Redemption, and of the provision made through the church of Christ for the perpetual conservation and application of its living powers.

And it must be observed that, in adducing this evidence from consent, I make no assumption and beg no question as between reformed and unreformed Christianity. By any such preferential treatment of a part I should weaken the authority and betray the sacred cause of the whole. All that can be said or shown of the corruptions that have gathered round the central scheme, of the failure rightly to divide the word of truth, of the sin and shame that in a hundred forms have belied its profession, affords only new proof of the imperishable vitality that has borne so much disease, of the buoyancy of the ark on whose hull has grown so much of excrecence without arresting its course through the waters. And again, the concord of

¹ iii. 55.

Christians ever since the great adjudication of the fifth century on the central truth has acquired an addition of weight almost incalculable, from the fact that they have differed so sharply upon many of the propositions that are grouped around it.

Without doubt human testimony is to be duly and strictly sifted, and every defect in its quantity or quality is to be recorded in the shape of a deduction from its weight. But as there is no proceeding more irreverent, so there is none more strictly irrational, than its wholesale depreciation. Such depreciation is an infallible note of shallow and careless thinking, for it very generally implies an exaggerated and almost ludicrous estimate of the capacity and performances of the present generation as compared with those which have preceded it. Judges in our own cause, pleaders with nobody to reply, we take ample note of every comparative advantage we possess, but forget to register deteriorating and disqualifying influences. Not less commonly is our offense avenged by our own inconsistency. The solemn voice of the ages, the *securus judicat orbis terrarum*, amounts simply to zero for Robert Elsmere. Yet he can absolutely surrender to his own selected pope the guidance of his understanding; and when he asks himself, at the funeral in the third volume, whether the more modest, that is the emasculated, form of human hope in the presence of the Eternal, may not be "as real, as sustaining," as the old one, his reply to this great question is—"Let Grey's trust answer for me."¹

This great buttress of the old religion, whatever its value, is then withdrawn from the new one, which starts like

A painted ship
Upon a painted ocean,

accredited by a successful venture among the London artisans who differ (so we are told) not only from the classes above and beneath them in the metropolis, as to their disposition to accept the Christian doctrines, but from their own brethren in the north.² It is not, therefore, on testimony that the Elsmere gospel takes its stand. Does it, then, stand upon philosophy, upon inherent beauty and fitness, as compared with the scheme which it dismembers and then professes to replace? Again, be it borne in mind that the essence of the proposal is to banish the supernatural idea and character of our Lord, but to imbibe and assimilate his moral teachings.

From my antiquated point of view, this is simply to bark the tree, and then, as the death which ensues is not immediate, to point out with satisfaction on the instant, that it still waves living branches in the wind. We have before us a huge larcenous appropriation, by the modern schemes, of goods which do not belong to them. They carry peacocks' feathers, which adorn them for a time, and which they cannot reproduce. Let us endeavor to learn whether these broad assumptions, which flow out of the historic testimony of the Christian ages, are also prompted and sustained by the reason of the case.

¹ iii. 284.

² iii. 150.

It is sometimes possible to trace peculiar and marked types of human character with considerable precision to their causes. Take, for instance, the Spartan type of character, in its relation to the legislation attributed to Lycurgus. Or take, again, the Jewish type, such as it is presented to us both by the ancient and the later history, in its relation to the Mosaic law and institutions. It would surely have been a violent paradox, in either of these cases, to propose the abolition of the law, and to assert at the same time that the character would continue to be exhibited, not only sporadically and for a time, but normally and in permanence.

These were restricted, almost tribal, systems. Christianity, though by no means less peculiar, was diffusive. It both produced a type of character wholly new to the Roman world, and it fundamentally altered the laws and institutions, the tone, temper, and tradition of that world. For example, it changed profoundly the relation of the poor to the rich, and the almost forgotten obligations of the rich to the poor. It abolished slavery, abolished human sacrifice, abolished gladiatorial shows, and a multitude of other horrors. It restored the position of woman in society. It proscribed polygamy; and put down divorce, absolutely in the West, though not absolutely in the East. It made peace, instead of war, the normal and presumed relation between human societies. It exhibited life as a discipline everywhere and in all parts, and changed essentially the place and function of suffering in human experience. Accepting the ancient morality as far as it went, it not only enlarged but transfigured its teaching, by the laws of humility and of forgiveness, and by a law of purity perhaps even more new and strange than these. Let it be understood that I speak throughout not of such older religion as may have subsisted in the lowly and unobserved places of human life, but of what stamped the character of its strongholds; of the elements which made up the main and central currents of thought, action, and influence, in those places, and in those classes which drew the rest of the world in their train. All this was not the work of a day, but it was the work of powers and principles which persistently asserted themselves in despite of controversy, of infirmity, and of corruption in every form; which reconstituted in life and vigor a society found in decadence; which by degrees came to pervade the very air we breathe; and which eventually have beyond all dispute made Christendom the dominant portion, and Christianity the ruling power, of the world. And all this has been done, not by eclectic and arbitrary fancies, but by the creed of the Homousian, in which the philosophy of modern times sometimes appears to find a favorite theme of ridicule. But it is not less material to observe that the whole fabric, social as well as personal, rests on the new type of individual character which the gospel brought into life and action; enriched and completed without doubt from collateral sources which made part of the "evangelical preparation," but in its central essence due entirely to the dispensation, which had been founded and wrought out in the land of Judea, and in the history of the Hebrew race. What right have we to detach, or to suppose we can detach, this type of personal character from the causes out of

which as matter of history it has grown, and to assume that without its roots it will thrive as well as with them?

For Mrs. Ward is so firmly convinced, and so affectionately sensible, of the exquisite excellence of the Christian type that she will permit no abatement from it, though she thinks it may be cast in a mould which is human as well as, nay, better than, in one which is Divine. Nor is she the first person who, in renouncing the Christian tradition, has reserved her allegiance to Christian morals and even sought to raise their standard. We have, for instance, in America, not a person only, but a society, which, while trampling on the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ, not only accepts his rule of life, but pushes evangelical counsels into absolute precepts, and insists upon them as the rule of life for all who seek, instead of abiding in the "lower floor churches," to be Christians indeed. "The fundamental principles of Shakerism" are "virgin purity, non-resistance, peace, equality of inheritance, and unspottedness from the world."¹ The evidence of travelers appears to show that the ideal of these projectors has to a certain degree been realized; nor can we know for how many years an eccentric movement of this kind will endure the test of time without palpably giving way. The power of environment, and the range of idiosyncrasy suffice to generate, especially in dislocating times, all sorts of abnormal combinations, which subside, in a large degree, upon forces not their own, and so impose themselves, with a show of authority, upon the world.

Let us return to the point. The Christian type is the product and the property of the Christian scheme. No, says the objector, the improvements which we witness are the offspring of civilization. It might be a sufficient answer to point out that the civilization before and around us is a Christian civilization. What civilization could do without Christianity for the greatest races of mankind, we know already. Philosophy and art, creative genius and practical energy, had their turn before the Advent; and we can register the results. I do not say that the great Greek and Roman ages lost — perhaps even they improved — the ethics of *meum* and *tuum*, in the interests of the leisured and favored classes of society, as compared with what those ethics had been in archaic times. But they lost the hold which some earlier races within their sphere had had of the future life. They degraded, and that immeasurably, the position of woman. They effaced from the world the law of purity. They even carried indulgence to a worse than bestial type; and they gloried in the achievement.² Duty and religion, in the governing classes and the governing places, were absolutely torn asunder; and self-will and self-worship were established as the unquestioned rule of life. It is yet more important to observe that the very qualities which are commended in the Beatitudes, and elsewhere in the Sermon on the Mount, and which form the base of the character specifically Christian, were for the Greek and the Roman mind the objects of contempt. From

¹ The quotation is from a preface to *Shaker Sermons*, by H. L. Eads, Bishop of South Union, Kentucky. Fourth edition, 1887.

² See for instance the *Epistles of Lucian*.

the history of all that has lain within the reach of the great Mediterranean basin, not a title of encouragement can be drawn for the ideas of those who would surrender the doctrines of Christianity and yet retain its moral and spiritual fruits.

Does then that severance, unsustained by authority or by experience, commend itself at any single point by an improved conformity with purely abstract principles of philosophy? and is the new system better adapted to the condition and the needs of human nature than the old? Does it better correspond with what an enlightened reason would dictate as the best provision for those needs? Does it mitigate, or does it enhance, the undoubted difficulties of belief? And if the answer must be given in the negative to both these inquiries, how are we to account for the strange phenomenon which exhibits to us persons sincerely, nay painfully, desirous of seeing Divine government more and more accepted in the world, yet enthusiastically busied in cutting away the best among the props by which that government has been heretofore sustained?

As regards the first of these three questions, it is to be observed, that while the older religions made free use of prodigy and portent, they employed these instruments for political rather than moral purposes; and it may be doubted whether the sum total of such action tended to raise the standard of life and thought. The general upshot was that the individual soul felt itself very far from God. Our bedimmed eye could not perceive his purity; and our puny reach could not find touch of his vastness. By the scheme of redemption, this sense of distance was removed. The Divine perfections were reflected through the medium of a perfect humanity, and were thus made near, familiar, and liable to love. The great all-pervading law of human sympathy became directly available for religion, and in linking us to the Divine humanity, linked us by the same act to God. And this not for rare and exceptional souls alone, but for the common order of mankind. The direct contact, the interior personal communion of the individual with God was reestablished: for human faculties, in their normal action, could now appreciate, and approach to, what had previously been inappreciable and unapproachable. Surely the system I have thus rudely exhibited was ideally a great philosophy, as well as practically an immeasurable boon. To strike out the redemptive clauses from the scheme is to erase the very feature by which it essentially differed from all other schemes; and to substitute a didactic exhibition of superior morality, with the rays of an example in the preterit tense, set by a dead man in Judea, for that scheme of living forces by which the powers of a living Saviour's humanity are daily and hourly given to man, under a charter which expires only with the world itself. Is it possible here to discern, either from an ideal or from a practical point of view, anything but depletion and impoverishment, and the substitution of a spectral for a living form?

If we proceed to the second question, the spectacle, as it presents itself to me, is stranger still. Although we know that James Mill, arrested by the strong hand of Bishop Butler, halted rather than rested for a while in theism

on his progress towards general negation, yet his case does not supply, nor can we draw from other sources, any reason to regard such a position as one which can be largely and permanently held against that relentless force of logic which is ever silently at work to assert and to avenge itself. The theist is confronted, with no breakwater between, by the awful problem of moral evil, by the mystery of pain, by the apparent anomalies of waste and of caprice on the face of creation; and not the least of all by the fact that, while the moral government of the world is founded on the free agency of man, there are in multitudes of cases environing circumstances independent of his will which seem to deprive that agency, called free, of any operative power adequate to contend against them. In this bewildered state of things, in this great enigma of the world, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? . . . Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat?"¹ There has come upon the scene the figure of a Redeemer, human and Divine. Let it be granted that the Incarnation is a marvel wholly beyond our reach, and that the miracle of the Resurrection to-day gives serious trouble to fastidious intellects. But the difficulties of a baffled understanding, lying everywhere around us in daily experience, are to be expected from its limitations; not so the shocks encountered by the moral sense. Even if the Christian scheme slightly lengthened the immeasurable catalogue of the first, this is dust in the balance compared with the relief it furnishes to the second; in supplying the most powerful remedial agency ever known, in teaching how pain may be made a helper, and evil transmuted into good; and in opening clearly the vision of another world, in which we are taught to look for yet larger counsels of the Almighty wisdom. To take away, then, the agency so beneficent, which has so softened and reduced the moral problems that lie thickly spread around us, and to leave us face to face with them in all their original rigor, is to enhance and not to mitigate the difficulties of belief.

Lastly, it is not difficult to understand why those who prefer the Pagan ideal, or who cannot lay hold on the future world, or who labor under still greater disadvantages, should put aside as a whole the gospel of God manifest in the flesh. But Mrs. Ward is none of these; and it is far harder to comprehend the mental attitude, or the mental consistency at least, of those who like her desire to retain what was manifested, but to thrust aside the manifesting person, and all that his living personality entails: or, if I may borrow an Aristotelian figure, to keep the accidents and discard the substance. I cannot pretend to offer a solution of this hard riddle. But there is one feature which almost uniformly marks writers whose mind as in this case is of a religious tone, or who do not absolutely exclude religion, while they reject the Christian dogma and the authority of Scripture. They appear to have a very low estimate both of the quantity and quality of sin; of its amount, spread like a deluge over the world, and of the subtlety, intensity, and virulence of its nature. I mean a low estimate as compared with

¹ Is. lxiii. 1, 2.

the mournful denunciations of the sacred writings, or with the language especially of the later Christian Confessions. Now let it be granted that, in interpreting those Confessions, we do not sufficiently allow for the enormous differences among human beings — differences both of original disposition and of ripened character. We do not sufficiently take account of the fact that, while disturbance and degradation have so heavily affected the mass, there are a happy few on whom nature's degeneracy has but lightly laid its hand. In the biography of the late Dr. Marsh we have an illustration apt for my purpose. His family was straitly evangelical. He underwent what he deemed to be conversion. A like-minded friend congratulated his mother on the work of Divine grace in her son. But, in the concrete, she mildly resented the remark, and replied that in truth "Divine grace would find very little to do in her son William."

In the novel of "The Unclassed" by the author of "Thyrza," which like "Robert Elsmere" is of the didactic and speculative class, the leading man-character, when detailing his mental history, says that "sin" has never been for him a word of weighty import. So ingenuous a confession is not common. I remember but one exception to the rule that the negative writers of our own day have formed, or at least have exhibited, a very feeble estimate of the enormous weight of sin, as a factor in the condition of man and of the world. That exception is Amiel. Mrs. Ward has prefixed to her translation of his remarkable and touching work an introduction from which I make the following extract : —

His Calvinistic training lingers long in him; and what detaches him from the Hegelian school, with which he has much in common, is his own stronger sense of personal need, his preoccupation with the idea of sin. He speaks (says M. Renan contemptuously) of sin, of salvation, of redemption and conversion, as if these things were realities. He asks me, "What does M. Renan make of sin?" "Eh bien, je crois que je le supprime."

The closing expression is a happy one: sin is for the most part suppressed.

We are bound to believe, and I for one do believe, that in many cases the reason why the doctrines of grace, so profoundly embedded in the gospel, are dispensed with by the negative writers of the day, is in many cases because they have not fully had to feel the need of them: because they have not traveled with Saint Paul through the dark valley of agonizing conflict, or with Dante along the circles downward and the hill upward; because, having to bear a smaller share than others of the common curse and burden, they stagger and falter less beneath its weight.

But ought they not to know that they are physicians who have not learned the principal peril of the patient's case, and whose prescription accordingly omits the main requisite for a cure? For surely in this matter there should be no mistake. As the entire Levitical institutions seem to have been constructed to impress upon the Hebrew mind a deep and definite idea of sin, we find in the New Testament that that portion of our Lord's work was so

to speak ready-made. But He placed it at the foundation of his great design for the future. "When the Comforter is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." Mrs. Ward seeks and even with enthusiasm, to "make for righteousness;" but the three terms compose an organic whole, and if a part be torn away the residue will bleed to death. For the present, however, we have only to rest in the real though but partial consolation that, if the ancient and continuous creed of Christendom has slipped away from its place in Mrs. Ward's brilliant and subtle understanding, it has nevertheless by no means lost a true, if unacknowledged, hold upon the inner sanctuary of her heart.

A MORNING PRAYER.

BY MAURICE THOMPSON.

O BREEZE!

Thou dewy, cool, sweet current of delight,
 Appease
This longing for the ripe fruit of the right;
 Winnow my soul
And flood my heart's cold caves with charity,
 And roll
This burden of the love of sin from me!

O sky!

Pour thy vast cup of purity on me,
 That I
May sound the flawless note of liberty,
 As I stand
Waiting to see the flower of sunrise blow,
Waiting to feel the fresher currents flow
 Into this morning-land.

O sea!

Thou weltering giant, lend thy stormy voice
 To me,
That I this day may make the earth rejoice
With a sky-filling, world-o'erwhelming song,
The tempest song of Freedom blowing down the walls of
 Wrong!

Lord God!

Thou master of the winds, the skies, the seas,
 Who trod
The valley of man's lowest miseries,

A Morning Prayer.

Lend me thy love, that I may love all men,
That I may show all men the way of love,
From palace high to deepest prison den;
That I may prove
How brotherhood is freedom's other name,
How freedom's other name is but the Word,
And that Word is the Lord
Come down again.
Amen.

The Independent, September 13.

BOOK NOTICES.

TWENTY YEARS OF PRINCETON COLLEGE. Being the Farewell Address, delivered June 20, 1888, by JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., Litt. D., President of Princeton College. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888. 8vo. Pp. 68.

This remarkable address has high educational value as a summary of the wonderful progress of Princeton College in the last twenty years, and also high biographical value as an outline of President McCosh's great career. Since he became president at Princeton in 1868, the number of professors and other teachers there has been increased from sixteen to more than forty. The strength of the college lies in its staff of professors (p. 24). President McCosh defends Greek as an obligatory study in our colleges (p. 18). Students' secret societies have been suppressed at Princeton, but the two large open debating societies are studiously encouraged (p. 43-45).

"I well remember the day," says President McCosh in this address, "when Mrs. Robert L. Stuart came down to Princeton and handed me \$154,000 to enable me to establish a school of philosophy. . . . I strove to make the study attractive, and have commonly had under me upwards of two hundred students in philosophy, many of them elective. . . . The Scottish school maintains that we know only the qualities of things; I say we know the things themselves. Hamilton makes our knowledge relative; I make it positive, so I call my philosophy Realism, and by help of a few obvious distinctions I hope to establish it. America has as yet no special philosophy of its own. I long to see it have such." (Pp. 27-30.)

On the topic of morals and religion in Princeton College, we place on record here a few of President McCosh's highly significant sentences (pp. 51-66) : —

I cannot tell how happy I am to think that when I give up my office in the college there is not a place for the sale of spirituous liquors in all Princeton. . . . From the beginning Princeton has been a religious college professedly and really. It has given instruction weekly on the Bible, and required attendance at prayers daily and on public worship on the Sabbath. The prayers in the chapel are conducted by the president and professors in their turn, and the preaching by those of us who are ministers, and very frequently now by eminent divines who are invited to visit us. . . . The majority of the students have always been professors of religion. One year there were two thirds, and this year there are three fifths. I am able to testify that these students as a whole, and with some human infirmities, live consistently with the profession which they make. . . . In 1876 we had a deep religious revival. Meetings for conference and prayers were held by the students every day and every night. Every student, indeed every member of the college, felt awed and subdued. . . . In later years the religious interest

has not so often taken the form of what is called a revival. But all along we have had, every year or two, seasons of deep religious earnestness, as in 1870, in 1872, in 1874, in 1882, in 1886. At the beginning of this year we had such a time on the occasion of the visit of Professor Drummond and two professors from the University of Edinburgh. . . . Princeton College, during my presidency, has sent out at least three hundred men as ministers or preparing for the ministry. I know of at least twenty-five missionaries sent out during the same period to the foreign field. Thank God we have had scarcely any avowed infidelity among us. Not above half a dozen out of our two thousand and more students have left us declaring that they had no religious belief. . . . I have had under me Catholics as well as Protestants of all denominations, Jews and heathens. I have religiously guarded the sacred rights of conscience. I have never insisted on any one attending a religious service to which he conscientiously objected. With scarcely an exception, the students have attended our daily morning prayers in the chapel, and also our weekly religious instruction. . . . In the instruction we give by lectures and recitations, we do not subject religion to science. But we are equally careful not to subject science to religion. We give to each its own independent place, supported by its own evidence. We give to science the things that belong to science, and to God the things that are God's. When a scientific theory is brought before us, our first inquiry is not whether it is consistent with religion, but whether it is true. If it is found to be true, on the principle of the induction of Bacon, it will be found that it is consistent with religion, on the principle of the unity of truth. . . . I have been defending Evolution, but in doing so, have given the proper account of it as the method of God's procedure, and find that when so understood it is in no way inconsistent with Scripture. I have been thanked by pupils who see Evolution everywhere in nature because I have so explained it that they can believe both in it and in Scripture. I believe that whatever supposed discrepancies may come up for a time between science and revealed truth will soon disappear, that each will confirm the other, and both tend to promote the glory of God. . . . Next winter I intend to give here a course of very carefully prepared lectures on First or Fundamental Principles, and immediately after to publish them to the world, to travel as widely as God may open ways for them. These will contain in epitome the results of my thoughts for the last half century. It is thus I mean to employ my remaining life, be it longer or be it shorter.

CHRISTIAN ARCHEOLOGY. By CHARLES W. BENNETT, D. D. New York : Phillips and Hunt. 8vo. Pp. xvi, 558. 1888.

The design of this work bespeaks ready appreciation. It aims to open a door upon such important departments of study as the art, constitution, government, discipline, worship, rites, and life of the Christian church during the first seven centuries of its history. A treatise which gathers into a brief compass the most approved conclusions on these topics may rightly ask for a welcome. Such is the treatise which Professor Bennett presents under the title of *Christian Archæology*, — the fruit of special and long-continued labor. Much more than it contains might of course be said on some of the chief topics ; but what is said has been well chosen. The work bears everywhere the impress of a thorough acquaintance with the extensive literature of the theme and of a conscientious impartiality. These two are indeed the

distinguishing characteristics of the volume. The style is not in an eminent sense that of popular exposition ; but it accomplishes the author's intent by giving a clear and orderly presentation of the subject-matter.

Anything like a just analysis of so comprehensive a treatise is wholly out of question, within our limits. We select, therefore, somewhat at random, a few points which naturally arrest the attention of a reader who is moderately acquainted with the subject.

Not many pages are turned before one finds striking illustration of the truth that a civilization is not sprung into existence by magic, or by a sudden turn of the wheel of Providence. It is seen that Christian art has its basis in classic art and is interpenetrated with its forms ; that even Christian inscriptions in very many cases express little more than the conventionalisms of the classic civilization. The new is indeed there. The power of the Christian evangel makes itself felt, and blends even with old forms a new significance, touching them with the transfiguring light of a higher spiritual office. Still the facts of dependence and borrowing are unmistakable. This union of elements in the field of art presents an interesting study, especially when we remember that we deal in this connection with a specific phase of a great problem, the question, namely, how far Christianity owed its historic form and content to the classic civilization, — to its philosophy, its religion, its political and social codes ; to the whole environment with which the old world met the new faith. The assumption of a greater or a less here separates historians into diverse schools.

As one looks into the chapter on architecture his foremost inquiry is naturally respecting the model which outlined to Christian minds their sacred building, the first great type of church architecture, the Christian basilica. The answer will not suit those stalwart souls which cannot be satisfied except in fighting for an exclusive theory ; for the author has the weakness to resort to eclecticism. This weakness, however, is decidedly agreeable to the prejudice which we had come to entertain. We had not been able to see why the early Christians should have their eyes open to only one variety of the suggestive architectural forms with which they were familiar. The following words, we surmise, will command friendly quotation : —

The ordinary private dwelling-house, the triclinia of the more elegant houses of the nobler families that had embraced Christianity, the lodge-rooms, the cellæ of the burial chapels, and the imposing interior arrangements of colonnades in the heathen law basilicas, are the sources whence are derived the germs which, under the fostering and inspiring spirit of the new religion during periods of toleration and peace, were developed into a distinctively Christian architecture (pp. 183, 184).

In treating of discipline the author concludes that judicial absolution, except in the sense of canceling ecclesiastical censures, was foreign to the church in the first centuries. This, if true, is important. We believe that satisfactory evidence of its truth can be given, and that it was a long time before the church as a whole allowed that the absolving sentence of the priest applies judicially to the penitent's standing before God. By the way,

the doctrine of judicial absolution is a peculiar specimen of scholastic acuteness. The absolving priest acknowledges that, not being blessed with omniscience, he cannot certainly know the state of the penitent. He acknowledges also that without real contrition the penitent cannot be absolved in the sight of God. Accordingly, for anything beyond the ecclesiastical status of the penitent, the absolving sentence of the priest, to be honest and safe, ought to read, *If I absolve thee, I absolve thee*.

The discussion of Sunday leads to the pronounced verdict that there is no warrant for the supposition of an apostolic decree by which the fourth commandment was set over from the seventh day of the week upon the first. Such a decree the historian is compelled to regard as apocryphal. No trace of it is found in apostolic writings or early Christian thought, and, moreover, the whole line of references to the subject carries a contrary implication. As the historian cannot, like the dogmatist, predicate a speculative necessity, he seems to be left in this dilemma, either to retain the fourth commandment in its old application to the seventh day, or to affirm that in a sense it came to an end with the old dispensation. The former alternative he cannot allow, since both the New Testament and early Christian history thoroughly legitimate the view that the first day of the week ought to be the special day of Christians. Will he, then, falling back upon the second alternative, throw the fourth commandment overboard? No, if he is wise. He will rather seek to render a definition of its relation to the Christian day which is secure from assault, as not requiring any apocryphal decree or broken logic. A considerable reflection has led us to conclude that such a definition might be framed in terms like these: As related to the Christian dispensation, the fourth commandment is a great historical precedent, providentially designed to supply the general model of the Christian week, and to teach impressively the need of a recurring day of rest and worship. To give the command a more positive relation to the Christian day, besides calling for apostolic action which history discredits, involves the incongruity of making a beginning memorialize an end, or of requiring a law whose sanction has been discarded to be held in its integrity as law.

A few statements have excited queries in our mind. We were led to inquire, for example, whether the second of the theories respecting the origin of the episcopate (pp. 363, 364) might not be ranged with the third, as simply indicating one of the specific ways in which the episcopate may have been evolved out of the presbyterate.

Another inquiry suggested was, whether the brevity of the statement respecting the deference rendered to the Roman bishop (p. 352) does not expose it to misapprehension. Deference to that prelate certainly had very material limitations in the second and third centuries, even in Italy and the neighboring regions. And outside the Roman patriarchate, in any century, tributes to the authority of the Roman bishop generally had their motive in personal or party advantage, and were abundantly offset by counter manifestations.

Many readers will probably be inclined to ask, on the subject of baptism, such questions as these : What is the conclusive proof that Judaic baptism in the time of Christ was by complete immersion ? Does the preference which the "Teaching" expresses for baptism in living or running water necessarily imply an election of complete immersion ? Why may not the language of this early document be regarded as satisfactorily met by such a mode as appears in art representations, — a union of partial immersion with affusion ? Is it certain, in consideration of the rapid development which went on in church constitution and in the conception of the eucharist, that a considerable change did not take place in the mode of baptism between the time of its institution and the date of the first description which distinctly identifies it with immersion ? Supposing a development, would not the tendencies toward an elaborate ceremonialism naturally bring in the trine immersion mentioned by Tertullian ? On these questions we would add two remarks : (1.) The answer should be quite other than the names of authorities, which often are aggregated on very slender grounds. (2.) While we have noted the questions as likely to be suggested by the reason or the prejudice of many readers, we have but a minor interest in them. The author establishes the point which alone can be considered of controversial importance, the fact, namely, that a measure of option, as to the mode of baptism, was allowed in the first Christian age. This shows that immersion was not considered of the essence of baptism. No further historical basis is needed for a triumph of common sense. Indeed, a healthy conscience might dispense even with this much, and be content with a bare silence in the New Testament.

It will probably be observed by the reader that not much specific demonstration is given of the ability of art relics and inscriptions to substantiate any important points respecting Christian beliefs and institutions (outside of the simple development of art), which are not well certified by the literature of the age under review. This may largely be explained by the limits of the work, and certainly ought not to induce any disparaging estimate of the value of the study of monumental remains. The present volume abundantly illustrates the value of such study. A multitude of details are given which help to render more concrete the picture of a marvelous era. As one passes from page to page he finds much of vividness and coloring added to the historical landscape which had place in his thought and imagination. The work may well call forth congratulations both for the author and the public.

H. C. SHELDON.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY MR. COOK, AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON.

49. *Ought the church to endeavor to restore the ministry of healing by prayer?*
This question has an exegetical, an historical, and a scientific aspect.

Those who believe in the possibility of healing certain diseases by prayer appear to me to be right in maintaining exegetically that the immediate disciples of our Lord were commissioned and empowered by Him to exercise by prayer a ministry of healing. The question in dispute is whether this was a permanent commission or one intended only for the opening ages of Christianity. My conviction is that the New Testament Scriptures do not authorize us to expect now such miracles as occurred in the apostolic age. Nevertheless, I am convinced that prayer for the sick, with the use of the best known remedies of a physical kind, is always a Christian duty, and that very special blessings are promised in the New Testament as the results of such petition offered in faith.

Historically these promises seem to have had occasional fulfillment in the very highest spiritual moods of certain circles of devout believers. As I do not admit exegetically that the power of working actual miracles was promised to believers in all ages, so I am not as yet convinced historically that any actual miracles of healing have been wrought.

Nevertheless, scientifically regarded, the question whether disease can be cured by prayer is one to be answered like any other in science by the methods of exact research. Investigation of this subject is extremely important on account of the large numbers who are deluded, if miraculous healing is *not* a modern fact, but especially on account of the reinforcement that would accrue to Christian faith if it is a fact. Inquiry on such a theme should not be closed by the assumption that the age of miracles is past. Observation, induction, the scientific method must settle this case. It is greatly to be desired that those who believe in healing by prayer should accumulate lists of cases of the cure of *organic* diseases by faith. It is by no means denied that many *functional* diseases, especially those resulting from the multitudinous forms of nervous disorder, have been healed by the ministry of prayer. Skeptics affirm that these cases of cure may be accounted for by wholly natural causes. What is necessary for their conviction is a series of legally verifiable detailed cases of the cure of (1) organic disease; (2) pronounced such by competent physicians; (3) given up by them as hopeless; (4) but cured by prayer; and (5) the cure attested by its permanence. In a large amount of reading on this theme I have found but one apparent example of such healing, and that is the alleged recovery of the wife of Dr. Asa Mahan from cancer which had been pronounced incurable by experts in the treat-

ment of that disease. (See "Presbyterian Review" for January, 1884, p. 516.) For evident reasons it is difficult to multiply public records in such matters of sacred private experience ; but when physicians are themselves cured, as it is alleged they sometimes have been, of organic disease by prayer, they ought to be able to make such a record of their experience as to convince skeptical physicians. Pastor Blumhardt, in whose parish, no doubt, wonderful cures of nervous diseases took place in answer to prayer, was asked by a professor of the medical faculty of the University of Tübingen to give him scientific proof that such healing had occurred. Blumhardt opened a drawer and left the professor alone for hours to examine the letters that cured persons had written, as to their own experiences and with the corroborating recorded testimony of physicians. This evidence was treated with respect by the professor. Henry Drummond, author of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," visited Blumhardt's Institution, and was convinced that functional diseases were cured there by prayer. Professor Christlieb is of the same opinion. Not a few careful investigators of Dr. Cullis's remarkable work in Boston adopt, whether rightly or wrongly, the same view as to merely functional disorders. But the real question concerns organic diseases, and only the strictly scientific method of research can settle it. The honored chairman of the Boston Monday Lectureship is absent from this platform to-day, conducting evangelistic services with the students of Princeton College, by the invitation of President McCosh. I venture to say, in his absence, that the most balanced and cautious book I have seen on this theme is the well-known volume of Rev. Dr. Gordon, on "The Ministry of Healing"; the next best the "Life of Pastor Blumhardt," a most suggestive work, which Professor Christlieb once urged upon my attention. As to healing by prayer, I never oppose such discriminating views as are held by Dr. Gordon and Professor Christlieb ; but I never defend them. [Applause.]

REPLY BY THE REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, OF NEW YORK.

50. *What reforms in the New York post-office were shown to be necessary by your recent investigations of the administration of the so-called eight-hour law?*

1. Carriers should be allowed as much time for setting-up mail as under former schedules, and still more when that is found too little for actually setting-up the mail with due care, in the office, before starting, in the busy ten months of the year.

2. Collectors should be allowed as much time as formerly for collections.

3. Readjustment of any route, either by shortening or by adding an extra carrier, where the growth of population has made it impossible to make the prescribed number of deliveries honestly and carefully with the present force in the prescribed time.

4. A log book, with red ink and pen, for each route (not one book only for a station), to save carriers from the necessity of waiting for each other, in recording forwarded letters.

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5. Enough city directories to prevent similar delays in looking up addresses of misdirected letters.

6. New schedules so arranged that faithful carriers can actually do their work in the busy ten months in the year in eight hours.

7. Trips should be so arranged that the eight hours shall be consecutive, except one or two "swings" for meals of not more than an hour each at or near the usual meal times, with the proviso that each carrier is to cease his work for the day not later than ten hours from when he began.

8. The carriers on each route should take turns, week by week, in making the late trip, so that no one shall be wholly shut off from evenings with his family and at places of recreation or devotion.

9. The vacations of fifteen days each, as provided by law, should be given the carriers, as far as possible, in the summer, when the work is lightest, and when vacations are most needed and most agreeable.

10. Enforcement of the postal rule that carriers are not to be required to do clerical work.

11. Special messengers — substitutes or otherwise — not "child labor" — for the prompt delivery of special letters, to prevent overworking carriers and delaying the letters.

12. Investigation to determine whether carriers are treated by their superiors with the courtesy and justice due to the employees of the American people.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

TWENTY-FIVE thousand women have lately been assessed in order to be registered as voters in Boston. Until the present season, the law permitting women to vote for the election of school boards in the cities of Massachusetts has been nearly a dead letter. The new zeal of female voters has been awakened by the conflict between Catholics and Protestants for the control of the public schools. The canvass on both sides has been urgent and searching. It is supposed that rather more Catholic women than Protestant have been assessed, although the former by no means outnumber the latter in the municipality as a whole. The Catholic priests are no doubt more successful than average Protestant preachers in bringing out the full strength of female suffrage in their respective parishes. The Protestant women of Boston, nevertheless, have set an example worthy of universal imitation. They have shaken off political apathy and have rallied to the defense of imperiled public interests, in a manner that promises well for the future. The aspect of sectarian strife could not be avoided. The sharp issue between Roman Catholic and Protestant ideas concerning education was thrust upon the city by the Jesuit opposition to American schools. The scenes at the assessors' offices, however, have been marked by the utmost decorum and courtesy. We regret that Roman Catholics have precipitated a political contest turning upon educational and religious issues; but we are not dissatisfied to see the good cause of woman's municipal suffrage making advances, even if it must be by the use of that rough road. We are convinced that a law requiring all who have the right to vote to exercise it or else pay a fine would have a good effect in diminishing the perils of absenteeism at the polls by both male and female voters. Our conviction is that any considerable broadening of the suffrage should be preceded by a law like that of portions of Switzerland for compulsory voting.

AFTER a memorable debate, extending through seven years, the so-called New Theology, with its unscriptural and unscientific theories of probation after death, has been deliberately, repeatedly, and overwhelmingly rejected by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In the October meeting at Cleveland, 1888, the Board reaffirms the great conclusions reached in its Springfield meeting of 1887 and in its Des Moines meeting of 1886. It reappoints the faithful and heroic secretaries who have preserved the financial honor and the doctrinal consistency and soundness of the Board through a storm of local misrepresentation and obloquy. The decisive nature of probation in this life is the redemptive Biblical truth which continues to govern its choice of officers and missionaries. These

results, occurring at the end of so many years, effectually discredit the Commission Creed of 1883, as a standard of Congregational orthodoxy. They are valid ground for congratulation not only to all the friends of vital orthodoxy at home, but also to every beleaguered missionary engaged at the ends of the earth in battle for a pure faith and life against both inherited and imported misbelief.

Ex-Gov. LONG of Massachusetts has written the following highly interesting letter to the "North Abington (Mass.) Public," on the expenses of Congressmen.

I write to correct what I infer from your editorials to be a mistaken notion with regard to the manner in which Congressmen generally live in Washington. So far from being to them a "Babylon" full of "wasteful wantons" and "lavish luxuries," it is very much what Abington or Hingham is to your neighbors or mine. There are a few persons of great riches who now and then give entertainments, and live in an extravagant and profuse way, as some rich people do in every other community. But the great bulk of the representatives, including noticeably nearly all the men of controlling influence, are men of limited means, who live in the modest and simple manner.

On the whole, I should say that the instance of Henry Wilson, which you cite, is a type of the present majority of members. Our Massachusetts senators, Dawes and Hoar, live quite as simply, one in a little tenement not better than our ordinary New England parsonage, and the other in a boarding house, which you will not think extravagant when I tell you that, with the exception of myself, the rest of the boarders are government employees, whose annual salaries range from perhaps \$2000 rapidly downward. Walking out with Mrs. Long at sundown last evening we passed a modest doorstep on which, with his young children playing about him, sat a member, who pointed to a plain suite of rooms as his lodgings, and whose dress and manner of living are as simple and unostentatious as those of a Plymouth County farmer, and yet he is a millionaire, the richest man, I think, in the House, a Western lumberman, wise and hard-headed, and not ashamed, but proud of the good stick which he wielded in his youth, and with which he pricked his way to fortune.

Among the leaders, Reed lives in the fifth story of a small hotel; Randall in a house that would perhaps yield a rent of \$300 or \$400; McKinley in two or three chambers; Mills in a quiet boarding house; and so on through the list. The House is full of poor men who make no show, who are just such plain, well-behaved, temperate, church-going people as you and I meet at home, who go afoot and drive no fine teams, who ape no fashions, some of whom go to the few public receptions that occur in the winter, but few of whom are able or care to hold receptions or give entertainments themselves.

Fine raiment is so rare among them that an old suit which I am now wearing for the third summer has actually been exploited by the newspaper reporters, in the absence of any other sensation, as subjecting me to the charge of being "well-dressed," and if Tom Reed should cover his shining head with a silk hat, he would lose the Republican leadership. The member who lives luxuriously is the exception. What is undoubtedly true of a few officials, especially so of some outside persons of great wealth, who reside and entertain in Washington in the winter and are advertised in the society columns of the press, is not at all true of the great majority of the people's servants.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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THE DAWN OF WOMAN'S DAY.

AN ADDRESS BY MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD.

At the meeting of the Chicago Woman's League, held October 4, the President, Frances E. Willard, delivered the following address : —

ULTIMATE CIVILIZATION.

There is a prayer, uttered or unexpressed, that brings us face to face, and it is this : "Help me to heal the heart-break of humanity." The measureless injustice that surrounds us like an atmosphere and the fathomless misery that broods over us like a malaria make many a murmuring heart cry out : —

Had I God's power or He my love,
We'd have a different world from this we see.

But the philosophic mind perceives that everywhere God works by means, and that evermore the Christ-spirit must be incarnate or it cannot carry out its miracles of healing. In the order of evolution it is first of all embodied in the individual, then in the home, then in society, then in the State, and some day shall be in that Universal Republic of which the Laureate sings, when

The flags shall all be furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.

Our meeting here hastens that coming consummation. Mother-love works magic for humanity, but organized mother-love works miracles. Mother-hearted women are called to be the saviors of

the race. I speak it reverently, as a loyal worshiper of Him who said, "Mother, behold thy Son."

NEW ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN.

We all know that organization is the one great thought of Nature. It is the difference between chaos and order ; it is the incessant occupation of God. But, next to God, the greatest organizer on this earth is the mother. She who sends forth from the sanctuary of her own being a little child has organized a great spiritual world, and set it moving in the orbit of unchanging law. Hence woman, by her organism, is the greatest organizer ever organized by our beneficent Creator.

But in the nature of the case, the mother, patiently preoccupied in deeds of love for those about her, has been slowest of all to reflect on her own innate powers, and has not until recently so much as dreamed of the resistless force of the world's aggregated motherhood. When I was graduated from college in 1859 there was not on the face of the earth, I venture to say, — certainly there was not in my native land, the most progressive land of all, — a national society of women. We worked on in weakness and seclusion, in loneliness and isolation. But we learned at last the gracious secret that has transformed the world for men and made them masters. We learned the mighty difference between the wide, open hand with individual fingers impotent because separate, and the condensed, constructive, organized power of those fingers when combined. We learned that floating timbers on the sea are not more futile as compared with the same timbers when organized into a ship than are solitary human beings as compared with the same persons when organized and instructed, unified and equipped in societies and guilds. The mighty work done to mitigate the horrors of our Civil War first revealed to us and to our brothers the latent power of the nation's womanhood; next came the holy zeal of the Women's Foreign Missionary Societies; then the heavenly enthusiasm of the Woman's Temperance Crusade, with its marvelous sequel, the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions; then the beautiful younger sister, the Woman's Home Missionary Society, while the Women's Christian Association and Congress, the

women's clubs, industrial and educational unions, relief corps, protective agency, the mighty labor movement, and the countless societies for local help to the sick, the friendless, and the poor abundantly testify to that *esprit de corps* which we women have at last acquired and are now so sure to utilize for purposes of blessing vastly wider, more pervasive, and more varied than we could at first have dared to undertake or dreamed of compassing.

MOTHER-HEARTS AS LEADERS OF REFORM.

From this time on the world will have in it no active, organic force so strong for its uplifting as its organized mother-hearts. You will notice the breadth of my generalization. I do not say "all mothers," because all women who are technically mothers are not "mother-hearted," while many a woman is so, from whom the criss-cross currents of the world have withheld her holiest crown.

In my own quiet refuge at Evanston, where we talk of all these things, I once said to Susan B. Anthony, that noblest Roman of us all:—

"Bravely as you have trodden it and glorious as has been your *via solitaria*, have you not always felt a sense of loss?"

She answered in the gentle, thoughtful voice that we all love:

"Could I be really the woman that I am and fail to feel that under happier conditions I might have known a more sacred companionship than has ever come to me, and that the companion could not have been a woman?"

But that she also felt God's call under the unhappy conditions that exist to go her own victorious way alone is proved by her reply to a good man and leading publicist who once said to her:

"Miss Anthony, with your great head and heart, you, of all women I have met, ought to have been a wife and mother."

Our noble pioneer answered him after this fashion:—

"I thank you, sir, for what I take to be the highest compliment, but sweeter even than to have had the joy of caring for children of my own has it been to me to help bring about a better state of things for mothers generally, so that their unborn little ones could not be willed away from them."

Far be it from me to draw, by any definition, such a line

around the regnant organized womanhood of the nation as would leave out our mother-hearted Susan B. Anthony.

Men know where their true interests lie, and women whom men love and trust and honor are always motherly at heart.

If there is a spectacle more odious and distasteful than a man who hates women it is a woman who hates men. If I am glad of anything it is that, while I have my playful quips and passing sallies anent them in my own inner home circle, when some passing injustice of the old régime quickens my pulses, the life-long tenor of my pen and voice and work have been not more for "Peace on earth" than for "Good will to men." This frank utterance may surely be permitted to one who on this day completes the first week of her fiftieth year, and who thanks God with unspeakable tenderness for all the pleasant land on which she can look back from the high chronologic vantage-ground she has attained. If this had not been so, surely these royal wives and mothers who to-day have rallied around me would rightfully have refused my leadership.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

It has required more than a generation of training within the sheltering circle of the church, where most of us have had our schooling in organized endeavor, to prepare us for so large a thought as was launched at Washington, D. C., last spring in the International Council. We knew that by the law of fittest survival, each group of women working together according to a plan develops its own leadership. But there and then began the widest evolution possible to us as women and the last in our slow process of training for our true position as the equal partners of men in the great world and its work, for at Washington was evolved the idea of a society made up of leaders only — a Council of Women, every one of whom should be an expert and a specialist in some department of work for the uplifting of humanity, and to which should be eligible the leader of every society in the nation, "the nature of whose work is undoubtedly national in either its character or its value." Then, once in five years, the International Council of Women, also organized at Washington, is to meet, to which will be eligible only the

presidents of National Councils. Fifty-three different organizations of women, all but four of which were of national scope and all of national value, were there represented. The subjects of education, philanthropies, temperance, industries, professions, organization, legal conditions, social purity, political conditions, and religion were all discussed. While no restriction was placed upon the fullest expression of the most widely divergent views upon these vital questions of the age, it is cause for rejoicing that the sessions, both executive and public, were absolutely without friction.

PLATFORM OF WOMAN'S WORLD'S COUNCIL.

It is the unanimous voice of this council that all institutions of learning, and of professional instruction, including schools of theology, law, and medicine, should, in the interest of humanity, be as freely opened to women as to men ; that opportunities for industrial training should be as generally and liberally provided for one sex as for the other. The representatives of organized womanhood in this council will steadily demand that in all avocations in which both men and women engage equal wages shall be paid for equal work ; and, finally, that an enlightened society should adopt, as the only adequate expression of the high civilization which it is its office to establish and maintain, an identical standard of personal purity and morality for men and women.

The general declaration of the National Council of the United States as well as of the World's Council was as follows : —

We women, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law. This council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy ; therefore no society voting to become auxiliary to this council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic

unity, independence, and methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any utterance or act of the council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

HOW WOMEN ARE ORGANIZING.

No sooner was this new thought launched on the seething waves of journalism than good women everywhere began to say to one another : " If unification is strength in the national movements of women, why not in the States, and why not in each city, town, and village ? If, as the ' Council Women ' said in their preamble, such an organization ' will incalculably increase the world's sum total of womanly courage, efficiency, and *esprit de corps*, widen our horizon, correct the tendency to an exaggerated impression of the value of one's own work as compared with that of others, and put the wisdom and experience of each at the service of all,' then let us all have councils, local and state, and let us have them speedily."

Here in Chicago seventy societies have already responded to the call and fifty-seven have allied themselves with the new movement. In Kansas a state woman's council was organized, as I suppose, this week, and another will be in Ohio the 11th of this month. I have never known a movement among women so enthusiastic and spontaneous. The time for it has fully come; the clock of God has struck the hour, and the best manhood of the manliest nation reaches out a brother's hand of help to us as we move forward bearing woman's white flag of peace, inscribed, " For Home and for Humanity."

This is the latest outgrowth of that gospel which raises woman up and with her lifts toward Heaven the world.

SOME OF THE REFLEX RESULTS.

Let us think for a little while about the results to be expected from this movement. Naturally they will be twofold : First, the reflex influence of such association upon the members themselves. For instance : Here is a woman devoted to self-culture. She learns, not to put aside her Plato, but to alternate its study with that of Helen Campbell's " Prisoners of Poverty " and to divide her time at the art gallery with her visits to the white slaves.

Here is a woman who is so devoted to the Waifs' Mission that she takes no time for books. Her association with the self-culturist leads her to ask for "Emerson's Essays" at the Public Library, and perhaps to advance so far beyond her former horizon as to join a Robert Browning club. Here is a home missionary woman devoted to the Bohemians, not of journalism, but of Pilsen on the *Nord Seit*. She is assigned to duty with a foreign missionary woman, and from association with her discovers that electricity and steel have shrunk the world till it is hardly bigger than an orange, that the Bohemian beyond the sea needs looking after just as badly as his brother on this side, while the zenanas of India and the Congo atrocities in Africa become so vivid in recital as to seem knocking for relief at her door. Meanwhile the foreign missionary woman at her side makes the useful discovery that the telescope of observation by which she was wont to bring the distant near can be adjusted as a microscope, magnifying to her perceptions the tenement-house horrors of her own city. Here is a temperance woman who solemnly believed that prohibition was the be-all of the republic's hopes and the end-all of its sorrows; but the Knight of Labor woman at her elbow convinced her that better economic conditions enter into that colossal problem and prevailed on her to read Edward Bellamy's wonderful book, entitled "Looking Backward," while the working woman graciously accepted in return a copy of the platform of the Prohibition party, which appeared to be quite edifying reading. Here again is a Republican woman placed alongside a Democratic woman, and as true yokefellows they go on a legal embassy from the Woman's to the City Council, and whatever their opinion of their respective parties may be, from what they there perceive they will be pretty sure to gain from one another a more hopeful view of those two great marching armies of civilization, whose guns are ballots and whose bullets are ideas.

Here is a Protestant woman who thinks there is no good in Catholics, never was, and never will be, but she is placed on the Public Library Committee with a communicant of the Cathedral, and finds her "so much like other folks" that she would really have supposed her to be a devout Presbyterian, while

the Catholic sister comes into kindly fellowship with her Baptist committeewoman, and will never again believe but that Protestants are really reputable people and quite likely to be saved.

Thus in a thousand ways the blessed education into a tolerant spirit goes swiftly on; the cobwebs of ignorance are brushed away; the rusty chains of prejudice are filed in two, and sectarianism is replaced by sisterly love; meanwhile the horizon of the heart is widened because the outlook of the brain is elevated, and into the lonesome little coves, inlets, and bays flow the strong, healthful tides of life's cosmopolitan sea.

But this is only the beginning. These women in council will not be theorists — they will be above all else practitioners in that word's widest sense. They will have no use for any philosophy of life that cannot be translated in terms of good works as well as of good will. Their deeds will all be "deeds of week-day holiness, nor will they ever chance to learn that aught is easier than to bless." In the wide realm of human misery they will have one guiding star and that is *JUSTICE*. Wherever there is a sister more down-trodden than any other, more helpless and forgotten, there by the law of spiritual gravitation they will delight to invest the weight of their power and the momentum of their united enthusiasm.

EFFECTS ON THE HOME.

But while we believe the reflex influence of the Woman's League upon its members will be of incalculable value to them all, we are chiefly concerned to-day with its reaction upon the five great organized forces by which the council is environed — namely, the home, the school, society, the church, and government.

The united wisdom and work of Chicago's organized womanhood directed upon Chicago homes will mean a better knowledge of sanitation and hygiene as applied to home architecture, ventilation, drainage, light, heat, diet, and dress adornings. If the best and broadest-natured housekeepers, or, as I like a thousand times better to call them, the homemakers of our city, could put their heads together over this problem of the modern home, as their husbands do over the problem of rapid street-car

transit and the bridge question, I believe that such an impetus would be given to invention and such encouragement to enterprise that the following improvements would be wrought out within ten years:—

Hot water and steam-heated air supplied to every house as gas is now from common reservoirs; a public laundry system, so complete as to drive the washtub out of every kitchen, banishing forever the reign of a steamy, sudsy, indigo-blue Monday; and a caterer's system so complete as to send the cooking-stove into perpetual exile. If men had these problems on hand, complicated with the unspeakable servant-girl problem, they would have solved them by a syndicate long before this, putting no end of money in their purses and no end of misery outside of home's four walls. The servant-girl question will ere long be answered by not having servant girls. The relations of the maid-of-all-work to the average household are abnormal, if not to a degree inhuman. They ought to be abolished, and will be in the growing unrest and uplift of the wage-worker on the one hand and the growing tendency of the employer to look upon this woman as a convenient "Celtic apparatus" on the other. Invention, enterprise, and associated effort, stimulated by the united wit and wisdom of united housekeepers, will lead us out of this wilderness.

COÖPERATIVE HOUSEKEEPING.

I often think, when rejoicing in the homelike amenities of a vestibule train, with its day-coach, dining-car, and sleeper, that if George M. Pullman could be induced by a council of women to give five years of his wonderful brain to this problem of household comfort off the rails, counseling with the housekeepers, as he would be wise enough to do, he might crown his splendid life by carrying into the average home the same wholesale comforts and elegances with which he now regales the traveling public. Only in that case we must petition him to spare us the diffusive atmosphere of that horrible smokers' annex. He would have his house porters who would come around regularly and set everything to rights, build fires in the open grate, just for the beauty and coziness thereof, and clear up the house gen-

erally; his pneumatic tubes through which to send the meals ordered by telephone, and waiters detailed, so many to the block, to serve and gather up the fragments of the same, at far less cost than now, taking the wholesale contract by the year, while the average excellence of viands prepared by experts would be far higher than at present, with a proportionate increase in the health and happiness of the families thus served. To preserve the individuality, the privacy, and sanctity of home while diminishing its cost and friction is the problem that women in council must set themselves to solve. Notable homemakers, ready for the next thing, and not afraid of it because it is the next and not the last, should be organized into a standing committee on this subject.

SPECIALISTS IN HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY.

What is done on a large scale places the doer on a vantage-ground financially, socially, legally, and every way. The boarding-house, that sepulchre of domestic happiness, would disappear to the incalculable advantage of husband, mother, and child, and the notable women who have a genius for affairs and now conduct our boarding-houses would find a broader field in the supervision of apartment houses and other details of the better housekeeping arrangements herein proposed, while the bachelor who now leads the sorry life of "a young man about town" would find his pathway to the marriage altar far less hedged about with financial briars and brambles, a "home of his own" — that dearest wish of every true man's heart — having become possible on easy terms.

Specialists in industry everywhere command respect and have a first mortgage on success, but the infinite variety of industries that a maid-of-all-work must carry on, whose thankless task is never done and seldom well done, ought at this advanced stage of invention and enterprise to follow the otherwise almost universal law of corporate direction. Each branch of her never-ending duties is capable of being so administered as to make it a great business controlled by the best brains and handled by trained experts.

The only class that yet retains the badge of servitude in its

name of servant girl deserves the utmost consideration at the hands of women well to do, for what other class has placed us upon such a vantage-ground? While I believe that the tendency of the time is toward such a scientific rectification of household duties as will render the office of maid-of-all-work obsolete, I believe that for the present distress a training school for domestics would be a boon to housekeepers and a capital help for hired helpers which this league of women might well lend its great influence to establish and maintain.

It has been justly said that many now living have seen in the last eighty years changes for the better that the previous eight centuries have hardly noticed. "The tendency of to-day is to afford to each individual in the community a service that would once have been attainable only to the man of large wealth. In all directions the tendency is toward making the advantages of the few the privilege of all, and the all can collectively afford a better service than the few." When the public learns that it can do anything better and cheaper by concerted action, it will not be slow to make new applications of that lesson, and household industries will be differentiated and specialized to a degree that will solve the servant-girl question to the advantage of all concerned, and assign the well-disposed and capable among such girls to the fast multiplying trades and occupations now opening to women on every hand.

"And the earth helped the woman," is one of the Bible's grandest prophecies, fulfilled for us and yet to be far more perfectly fulfilled in the material inventions whereby woman shall be relieved from the drudgery of daily toil and lifted to the level of her highest and her holiest ministries.

But with these varied cares and perpetual annoyances removed, how will the homemaker of the well-to-do classes employ her time? In the care of her children, the companionship of her husband, and in works of philanthropy, by which the coming epoch shall be hastened forward when there shall be no classes that are not well to do.

But there remains abundant territory to be possessed in home's illimitable realm. Women in council working to improve that sanctuary of their hearts will find grievous unequal-

ities in the laws that relate to property as between husband and wife; they will find that in most of the States a wife cannot bring a civil suit for damages against her husband; that as a rule the crime of despoiling a woman of her honor is not punished so heavily as the stealing of a cow; that in general the protection of the person ranks far behind protection of the purse; that in all the thirty-eight States but four still make the father the natural guardian of the children, and that as against all but his wife he can will away the guardianship of his child, whether born or unborn, while she cannot will away hers as against all but her husband.

To show how gladly good men help us toward better law let me recite an incident. In the winter of 1856-57 Judge Waite was sitting in his law office in this city when a woman came in and said her husband was about to convey the homestead and have her put out of doors. She asked if this could legally be done. The judge told her he feared it could be, but would examine carefully. She came in the next day, and he was obliged to tell the poor woman that her husband could take away her home. But Judge Waite immediately drafted a bill to prevent such action in this or any case, sent it to a member of the State Senate, and it was passed at once, and was the first or among the first statutes of the kind in the United States. So that we must not only say that "the earth helps the woman," but that the good and true man everywhere is more than glad to help her.

THE CHILD'S RIGHT TO BE WELL-BORN.

A great world is looming into sight, like some splendid ship long-awaited for — the world of heredity, of prenatal influence, of infantile environment. The greatest right of which we can conceive, the right of the child to be well-born, is being slowly, surely recognized. Poor old humanity, so tugged by fortune and weary with disaster, turns to the cradle at last and perceives it has been the Pandora's box of every ill and the Fortunatus casket of every joy that life has known. When the mother learns the divine secrets of her power, when she selects in the partner of her life the father of her child, and for its sacred

sake rejects the man of unclean lips because of the alcohol and the tobacco taint, and shuns as she would a leper the man who has been false to any other woman no matter how depraved; when he who seeks life's highest sanctities in the relationships of husband and father shuns as he would if thoughtful of his future son the woman with wasp waist that renders motherhood a torture and dwarfs the possibilities of childhood, French heels that throw the vital organs out of their normal place, and sacred charms revealed by dresses *décolleté*, insisting on a wife who has good health and a strong physique as the only sure foundation of his home-hopes, then shall the blessed prophecy of the world's peace come true; the conquered lion of lust shall lie down at the feet of the white lamb of purity and a little child shall lead them.

WOMAN'S PART IN LEGISLATION.

Society and government are two circles which interplay like rainbows round a fountain, and that fountain is the home. Women in league or council will bring their united power to bear wherever in the operation of an unjust law, whether it be of custom or of legislation, any woman is defrauded of her right. Let us picture them in action: The Municipal Council is in session; but the Board of Directors of the Woman's Council is in session also; it represents not some single, isolated, and comparatively uninfluential society, but the united forces of Chicago's organized womanhood. We want an ordinance giving better protection to shop and factory girls; providing more carefully for their physical health, comfort, and convenience, guarding them so far as possible from moral disaster and disease. Through our office secretary we have sent out petitions to every woman's society in the city asking for this ordinance and pledging its enforcement by means of women inspectors from our own number who will serve without fee or reward. The petitions come back signed by tens of thousands. All reputable employers are with us in this effort, and the wage-workers of the city are well pleased to have our help, hence the voting majority that makes and unmakes city councils is on our side.

WOMAN'S POSSIBLE POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

Thus panoplied with the power of organization of numbers or a majority among the voters, and, best of all, pleading a cause that tends towards human brotherhood, the Women's Council goes before the City Council and wins the day. But without the law-enforcer back of the law, it is like a rusty sword in a still more rusty scabbard. Already the working-girls of Chicago have much more law upon their side than is utilized for their defense. But there has been no eye to pity, and no hand to save. Now you are here, the women whose opulent and forceful lives have been from a thousand springs of opportunity and blessing; you are here with the arrest of thought in your brains and the enthusiasm of humanity in your hearts; let us bring the solid weight and total momentum of Chicago's organized womanhood to bear upon the problem of a better and a happier life for working-girls. For one I promise, overwhelmed with cares and duties as I am, to give one afternoon in the week as an inspector to see that the laws we have and mean to get for these women are carried into execution. Nor do I see anything generous about the offer. It will help me as much as it can possibly help those to whom I minister. In the spiritual as well as the material realm, action and reaction are equal. Working along large lines as a reformer, I covet the opportunity to come face to face with those in whose interest I have tried to toil. The warm hand-clasp, the gentle greeting, the tear of sympathy, I want to give them all, not for the girls' sake only, but also to make me mellowed hearted as the swift years roll on. I hope the reply is apocryphal that I once heard attributed to Charles Sumner when he was asked by Julia Ward Howe to help a little colored girl, and said: "Madam, bring no individual cases to me, for I am consecrated to the uplifting of a race." Surely this is not the spirit of His life who went about doing good to the lowly and forgotten. And we, going straight to those who need our help, shall learn a thousand ways of helping that we do not dream of now, while the public sentiment we can arouse and educate will wonderfully hasten the better day. We must be willing to go forward upon this untried pathway

just a step at a time. The whole question of tenement-house misery will open before us, and we shall yet find remedies; the unutterable problem of Chicago's haunts of infamy will be understood and studied as it has not been before; the right of workingmen to one day in seven for rest; the people's right to outlaw the liquor saloon as well as the gambling saloon — these and cognate forms of philanthropy will claim our courage and devotion.

STATE COUNCILS OF WOMEN.

Think for a moment of all this upon a larger scale. When each village, town, and city of our State shall have its league or council of good women, they can do for their localities what we hope to do for ours. But we must set them the example. As President of the Women's National Council, I earnestly hope they will move at once along these lines of organization, which mean power, and when the legislature meets next winter the State Council of Illinois ought to meet also, bringing the combined influence of us all to bear in asking for such legislation as our committee on legal work agree upon, and no bill should go before the legislature that is not backed up by the State Council of Women. We should have our representatives constantly at the capital — the State Council regularly holding its sessions there, and asking unitedly for the things that have heretofore been asked for only by separate societies. A law for the better protection of women; for raising the age of consent; for the teaching of hygiene in all grades of the public schools, with especial reference to stimulants and narcotics; for compulsory education; also for appropriations in aid of the industrial school for girls and other institutions to which our philanthropic women are devoted — we must together strive for these.

Locally, a Woman's League should, in the interest of that mothering which is the central idea of our new movement, seek to secure for women admission to all school committees, library associations, and boards intrusted with the care of the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes; all professional and business associations; all colleges and professional schools that have not yet set before us an open door of ingress: and each

local league should have the power to call in the united influence of its own state league or of the National Council if its own influence did not suffice.

In the development of this movement I am confident that it will impart to women such a sense of strength and courage that their corporate self-respect will so increase that such theatrical bills as we now see displayed will not be permitted for an hour without our potent protest; and the exhibition of women's forms and faces in the saloons and cigar stores, which women's self-respect will never let them enter, and the disgraceful literature now for sale on so many public news-stands, will not be tolerated by the womanhood of any town or city.

To develop the great quality of corporate as well as individual self-respect, I believe no single means would do more than the study of Frances Power Cobbe's noble book on "The Duties of Women." It ought to be in the hands of every woman who has taken for her motto, "Hearts Within, God O'erhead," and surely it ought to be in the hands of every one who has not this high aim, while I am sure that every man who lives would be a nobler husband, son, and citizen of the great world if he would give this book his thoughtful study.

Dear friends, you know the story of Androcles and the lion; how the poor animal came limping out of the forest, knowing the gentleness of Androcles and unable longer to endure the pain of the sharp thorn it carried. To me that lion is a figure of humanity in its rough strength and staggering misery as it turns toward mother-hearted women for relief. I wish that we might have as a seal and emblem of our society the picture of a woman healing a lion's hurt. You know, as the sequel of the story, that when, long afterward, Androcles was condemned to fight with a lion in the arena, it proved to be his former friend, who received him with every demonstration of tenderness and loyalty.

Let us work on with the HUMAN rather than the WOMAN question as our deepest motive, and in the individual no less than the collective struggle of our lives we shall discover friends where foes were feared.

ACCOMPLICES AND ACCESSORIES IN CRIME.

NEW YORK, Iowa, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, and California by special enactments provide that no person shall be convicted upon the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice. The same rule has been promulgated by the higher courts in the United States and England.

There is a prevailing opinion that, in some instances, a citizen or officer who purchases prohibited articles of a vendor of such illegal goods, for the laudable purpose of bringing the offender to justice, renders himself liable to the charge and odium of being called an "informer," "spy," or "accomplice." The injustice and unfairness of such criticism will be manifest when we remember that the highest courts repudiate this opinion.

Where the law forbids the traffic in, and sale of particular articles, as lottery tickets, obscene books and pictures, articles of indecent and immoral use, or counterfeit money, or prohibits the sale at certain times or in particular manner, — as liquor on Sunday, or without a license, — is one who, for the purpose of stopping such illegal acts and securing the conviction of the offender, buys of him the prohibited articles, an accomplice within the meaning of statutory enactments, or of decisions by the courts? In other words, is such a one an "infamous witness"? Must his testimony be corroborated?

The rule that accomplices should be corroborated is maintained very widely among our States, and in England, either by statutory provisions, or by the customs of the courts.

Our question will not be difficult to answer when we come to consider the reason for this rule. Accomplices may be divided into two classes, the *real* and the *feigned* — the genuine and the counterfeit. The former are moved by selfish motives; actuated by criminal intentions; at heart criminal, associating themselves with criminals, and purposely committing crimes in defiance of law, that they may thereby get gain unto themselves.

The feigned accomplice may be an officer or private person who associates himself with a criminal or a band of criminals from no criminal or selfish intention, but with the high and proper motive and object of acquainting himself with the secret doings of the marauders against society, that he may by so doing enforce the law and protect the community from their depredations.

The hope of self-protection leads many criminals to turn state's evidence, break faith with associates, and betray them, that thereby they may themselves escape the penalties of the law. These are self-confessed criminals, who admit that with guilty intent they aided and abetted in the commission of crime oftentimes until apprehended by the officer of the law. They confess to being criminal and depraved and necessarily unreliable. An English court says, after discussing their criminal character : —

The desire to protect their comrades and cast the blame on other and innocent shoulders actuates many others : the danger is, when a man is fixed, and knows that he is guilty and detected, that by testifying against his associates he may purchase immunity by falsely accusing others. (*Rex v. Tailey*, 8 C. & P. p. 106.)

There are many good people who hold erroneous opinions concerning the act of purchasing a bottle of liquor, to be used as evidence, of a person who is selling the same in violation of law : others apply the same reasoning to the purchasing of a lottery or policy ticket of one of these public plunderers ; or the purchase of an obscene book or picture of the miscreants engaging in a nefarious business ; and we hear outcries against this practice ; and charges by unscrupulous men are freely made in the defense of these crimes, that to buy of such a person is " inducing him to commit a crime," " decoying," " entrapping," " doing evil that good may come," and then when such a case comes into court, the pettifogger objects to the conviction of his client, because the witness is " an accomplice," " accessory," and " infamous witness."

The government officer who employs a " test letter " to detect crimes against some postal or revenue law is subjected to the same abuse and obloquy.

Let two things be observed : First. The laws forbidding the sale of counterfeit money, lottery tickets, obscene books, pictures, and articles of indecent and immoral use, and the unlawful sale of liquor refer to *mala prohibita* instead of *mala in se*. These laws come under the *police power* of the State in the interest of public morals. Second. It is a settled rule of evidence that the best evidence that can be obtained must be produced against a defendant.

What better evidence can be secured than the prohibited article sold ? The officer or citizen finds a person violating the law ; he purchases precisely what the criminal has in his possession for sale when discovered. He pays the criminal his price. Just here, note, that if the purchaser appropriates the article purchased to his own personal use, whether it be liquor to drink, lottery tickets to gamble with, or foul books and pictures to defile his own mind, not one of our critics has a word to say. But if he shall be patriotic enough to place such purchased article in the hands of the public prosecutor as evidence against the professional violator of law, then all the foregoing maledictions are showered upon his act.

Necessity creates a demand for a remedy.

Necessity justifies a remedy.

To condemn a lawful remedy, or to make or allow loose, heartless, ignorant assaults of condemnation upon those who apply a needed remedy, is to work a serious harm to public and private interests.

Crimes against public morals render necessary laws to suppress them. They are the necessity, the law the remedy. The prevalent erroneous impressions concerning this important subject hinder the proper enforcement of these laws, and place unjust burdens upon the shoulders of many a faithful officer who is charged with enforcing them. The enforcement of these laws creates a necessity for legal evidence. Legal evidence is the essential element of success ; and without it, prosecuting officers, district attorneys, and courts are powerless to check the evils legislated against. The witness and his testimony in their hands is practically the same as the prescription or surgical instrument in the hands of a skilled physician or surgeon in the cure of disease.

The approach of contagious disease is the signal for erecting barriers about a nation, and quarantines ships with their passengers, crews, and cargoes. The existence of cancer, ulcer, gangrene, or other diseases justifies the use of the nauseous and sometimes poisonous prescriptions of the physician.

The assassin's weapon creates a demand for the use of the surgeon's probe and scalpel. The gaping wound or crushed limb oftens calls for amputation, and life would be sacrificed without it. Death renders it necessary to place the bodies of our loved ones in coffin and grave. The raging fire in a thickly populated district justifies the drenching of the premises with water, and in some cases the pulling down or blowing up of neighboring tenements to prevent the spread of the conflagration. The depredations of the criminal classes in like manner call for curative and protective remedies, and these remedies are provided by legislative enactments, and applied by courts and juries through the medium of legal evidence to establish the guilt of the professional criminal.

These laws must be enforced, or the purity and sanctity of our homes and youth will be sacrificed, or if protected at all, it will have to be done by shot-gun or lynch law.

Does the end justify the means? Rather are not the means authorized and demanded by the crisis?

Better say there shall be no quarantine against contagious disease; no cure applied by scientific men to wounds and putrifying sores; no burying of our dead beneath the sod; no extinguishing the conflagration for fear of deluging the premises and damaging merchandise; no protection to our homes from the midnight marauder, than to say there shall be no enforcement of law by detective measures, or to charge that such methods as are here contended for are "doing evil that good may come." What of the mercantile interests delayed at quarantine; the merchandise damaged by water in the burning building; the limb amputated, or the doctor's prescription, containing as it often does deadly poison? Are these justifiable? Then why is not the cure applied to the festering sores of our body politic equally justifiable? and why is not the faithful officer or patriotic citizen seeking to enforce these laws to be

sustained and considered as equally justifiable and honorable? Should those who apply the legal remedies to the ulcers, cancers, and blotches upon the face of society lose their good name and veracity, or be denounced as "accomplices," "informers," and "spies," any more than the health officer of the port, the physician, or surgeon should be denounced as of "low tastes," "disreputable," "unworthy of belief," simply because he applies remedies for the prevention or cure of contagious and loathsome diseases?

The difficulty lies in the ignorance of the public, and the false issues raised by those who oppose the proper enforcement of these laws.

The higher courts have found no difficulty in dealing with these questions. An appeal to them will satisfy the minds of the most querulous portion of the community, and establish a wide distinction between the real and feigned accomplice. No court having any regard for the proper administration of law, or any respect for justice and truth, or any self-respect, will allow a faithful officer or citizen to be traduced or denounced, for having furnished legal evidence to convict a criminal.

The rule that "an accomplice must be corroborated" wholly fails where a citizen or an officer, seeking to suppress an illegal traffic, purchases of the offender solely for the purpose of getting the necessary evidence. *Such an one is not an accomplice.* This is well settled in England and America.

An English court says in *Rex v. Muller*, 3 Cox C. C. pp. 526-531:—

The rule wholly fails: the reason, therefore, is lacking in such a case. He acts with no criminal intent; he does not seek self-protection, nor is he endeavoring to aid any criminal associate; and personally he may be a man of the most unrepachable morals. The distinction between the two classes of men is very clearly drawn by Justice Maule, who speaking of a case where an officer joined a band of conspirators, associated with them, and assisted them for the purpose of detecting their plans, and then convicting them, says: "An accomplice confesses himself a criminal, and may have a motive for giving information, as it may purchase immunity for his offense. A spy, on the other hand, may be an honest man. He may think that the course which he pur-

sues is absolutely essential for the protection of his own interests and those of society ; if he does so, and if he believes that there is no other method of counteracting the dangerous designs of wicked men, I can see no impropriety in his taking upon himself the character of an informer ; . . . under such circumstances, they are entirely distinguishable in fact and principle from accomplices."

In Texas, in the case of *Wright v. The State of Texas*, an appeal was had from a judgment of conviction for horse-stealing. One Holden, a detective, associated himself with a band of horse-thieves for the purpose of obtaining evidence to convict them. He was the *sole* witness for the prosecution.

On the trial the court charged "that if Holden had been aiding, assisting, and abetting the defendants with a criminal intention, and he was uncorroborated, they must acquit the accused ; but if he was a detective acting solely for the purpose of discovering crime, his evidence required no corroboration."

The prisoner was convicted. On appeal, the higher court held, "There was no error in the charge." (7 Tex. C. of App. R. p. 545 ; 32 Amer. R. p. 599.)

In Iowa, in *State v. McKean*, 36 Iowa R. p. 343, one Weeks, a detective, was hired by citizens to ferret out a gang of horse-thieves. He associated himself with them, caused their arrest, and testified to seeing thefts committed by them. The court charged : —

"If Weeks assisted in the stealing of the horse with felonious intent, then he was an accomplice, and that the law of the State of Iowa expressly prohibited a conviction on the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice ; but if from the beginning Weeks intended to act the part of a detective to ferret out and make known the crimes and secret frauds of defendant, then he was not an accomplice."

On appeal the conviction was affirmed and the charge approved (the court citing *Rex v. Despard*, 28 How. St. Trials, p. 346 ; *Com. v. Downing*, 4 Gray (Mass.) R. p. 29 ; *Com. v. Hilliard*, 22 Pick. (Mass.) R. p. 476).

In Massachusetts, in *Com. v. Downing* above referred to, Downing was convicted of selling liquor to one King, who was the sole witness, and uncorroborated.

On the trial counsel for defendant requested the court to charge, "that a person who admitted that he had purchased and procured another person to commit a crime for the purpose of prosecuting the person so hired and procured to offend was not a creditable witness." This was refused, and the court charged: "That if the jury believed the witness King they should convict the defendant. That it sometimes became necessary to match cunning with cunning, and accomplish by artifice what could not be otherwise consummated." On appeal it was held that "King was not an accomplice."

In a penal action brought by the town of St. Charles against O. Marley, to recover a sum not to exceed \$100, for a violation of an ordinance prohibiting the sale of liquor, two witnesses testified that they came from Batavia to St. Charles for the purpose of buying liquor of defendant, that they might prosecute him, and that they had been sent by a society in Batavia who paid their expenses. The trial court charged in substance, "that the jury must consider whether these witnesses came down from another town with a design and preconceived plan to entrap defendant; that the law considered those who by cunning and artifice cause another to commit an offense, if not equally guilty, at least so culpable that they should be regarded with suspicion."

On appeal, the higher court held: —

As to the assumed fact that the witnesses fill the character of informers and spies, we must wholly differ with the court. . . . We should regret to learn that men are to be denounced as informers and spies who may voluntarily and involuntarily denounce and prosecute offenders against the law, order, or morality of society. If men who voluntarily or otherwise become acquainted with the secret brothels, gambling and drinking hells with which our cities and villages are sometimes overrun, and our neighbors and our children are corrupted and ruined, are to lose their reputation for veracity, and are to be denounced as informers and spies for seeking out and bringing their evil practices to light, then are our hopes of protection slight indeed.

In California, one Farrell was convicted upon the testimony of a man named Fargo, who was the sole witness. Fargo had united himself, in his capacity as a detective, with a gang of counterfeiters.

On appeal, it was contended by Farrell's counsel, that Fargo was an accomplice, and not corroborated, and that therefore the conviction was illegal. It was held that "at most Fargo was but a feigned accomplice, and that therefore he did not require corroboration." (*People v. Farrell*, 30 Cal. R. p. 316.)

In Alabama, under section 3283, Alabama Code, which made it an offense to sell liquor to a slave, one Harrington was convicted on the uncorroborated testimony of one Lyon. Upon the trial it appeared that Lyon gave a bottle and money to one of his slaves, and sent him to see if he could purchase liquor of the defendant. Lyon in the mean time waiting and watching outside saw the liquor sold. It was claimed that Lyon was an accomplice, and as the slave could not testify, was uncorroborated, and even if he could have given testimony would have required corroboration. On appeal it was held: "Lyon was certainly not an accomplice of the defendant in the act of selling, . . . the statutory offense consisting in the act of selling, not in the act of buying; and neither the purchaser nor one participating in the purchase can be deemed the accomplice of the seller." *Harrington v. State of Ala.* 36 Ala. R. pp. 236, 242.

In *Commonwealth v. Hilliard*, 22 Pick. (Mass.) R. p. 476, the court says:—

"That in every case of selling there must be also a buying; and that fact must have been known to the legislature; and where it forbade the selling, but remained silent on the subject of buying, it must be presumed that it did not intend to make buying a crime, and that a buyer could not be prosecuted."

Section 399, Penal Code of the State of New York, is almost word for word the same as the law of Iowa and Alabama, concerning accomplices.

In the *People of the State of New York, respondent, v. Margaret Smith, appellant* (1 N. Y. Crim. R. No. 3, p. 252), the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in an elaborate opinion, considered this question, citing and supporting the principles above laid down.

Margaret Smith had been convicted of selling beer in quantities less than five gallons without a license. Her counsel contended that, as there was but the uncorroborated testimony

of one witness who had purchased beer of her, she could not be convicted upon his testimony under section 399, Penal Code. It was held : —

This witness in no manner participated in the act declared by the statute to be an offense. That was made out by the sale itself without license, and the person making the sale is the only one declared by the law to be a criminal.

The purchaser has been subjected to no criminal accountability whatsoever, and by the mere purchase he could not be a participant in the performance of the act which the statute has required to be an offense. That was performed wholly and exclusively by the defendant, for she, unaided by the purchaser, acted alone in making the sale.

An accomplice is a person involved either directly or indirectly in the commission of the crime. To render him such, he must in some manner aid or assist or participate in the criminal act, and by that connection he becomes equally involved in guilt with the other party by reason of the criminal transaction.

This witness incurred no such relation to the offense committed, and therefore was not an accomplice within the meaning of this section of the Code.

This case was carried to the Court of Appeals, and there affirmed, and has since been reaffirmed in several leading cases, where convictions have been had against persons charged with crimes other than the sale of liquor.

The great leading case is that of *The People v. C. D. J. Noelke et al.* (29 Hun, and 96 N. Y. R., Ct. of App.). Noelke was convicted of selling a lottery ticket to one Mattock. His counsel contended that under section 399, Penal Code, Noelke *et al.* could not be convicted upon Mattock's testimony. On appeal the general term of the Supreme Court held : —

Mattock was not an accomplice. The ticket which he purchased was not bought with a criminal intent. It was purchased for the purpose of proving the fact of its sale by the defendant. The design of this application for a ticket was to show that the defendants were engaged in an unlawful business. There can be no doubt that a purchase made under such circumstances does not make the purchaser an accomplice. There must exist a criminal intent. This is settled both in England and this country.

The Court of Appeals in affirming this case said, Mattock was

"in no sense a party to the criminal act or intent so as to become an accomplice."

Neither courts nor the public should mistake and denounce the only methods by which society is to be protected, and find redress against the crimes of the "cancer-planters" of the nineteenth century. Rum, lust, and gambling may object to detective measures, and legal remedies to suppress them, but public morals, public order, common decency, the sanctity of the homes of the land, the moral purity of our children, the highest interests of society, church, and state, all demand a remedy and antidote for the evils arising from these triplet monsters. Let intelligent men inquire into the methods adopted by reformers of this day before they sneer at and condemn that which is necessary in order to apply a remedy to the curse brought upon the land through these three hideous sources of corruption. If a miscreant should throw deadly poison into a well where children were to drink, the shot-gun would be considered the most appropriate remedy to settle his case. What consideration, then, shall be shown to the wretches who are scattering worse than poison, vipers, or contagious disease among the pure youth and children of our land, in the shape of obscene, indecent, and criminal literature, and articles for indecent and immoral use? Shall the organized efforts to check these evils meet with doubt, lack of sympathy, or support from good men and women; shall those who secure the suppression of vice be condemned without a hearing? Or will not ministers, public speakers, editors, and patriots everywhere sustain the legal efforts to enforce the laws against these crimes, and not stop to split hairs until the evils cease to exist, or at least are somewhat brought under control?

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

INDIA: ITS NEED AND OPPORTUNITY.

BY THE REV. N. G. CLARK, D. D., FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD. A PAPER PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 3, 1888.

INDIA has been, and still is, the great mission field of the world. It has an area as large as that of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, and a population five times as large. Its climate ranges from the slopes of the snow-covered Himalayas to the heat of Madura and Travancore, and its productions are as varied as its climate. It has peoples of diverse speech separately outnumbering the population of Spain, Italy, France, or Germany. It has 150 languages and dialects written and unwritten.¹ It boasts of a literature that dates back a thousand years before the revival of letters in modern Europe, of sacred books and epic song of an antiquity not surpassed by the Pentateuch or the book of Job. It had a reputation for wealth and luxury that tempted the Macedonian conqueror; whose glory lingered in the traditions of Europe, stirred the adventurer of Portugal and Spain, and illumined the verse of Milton.

The origin of the different races that spurned the mountain barriers of the north, and one after another swept over the great peninsula, neither history nor the researches of philology can explain. We call the rude, uncultured peoples that seem to have been crowded back into the hills and jungles the aboriginal inhabitants, and are satisfied in a general way in noting the Aryan invasion centuries before the Christian era, the Mohammedan conquest in the eleventh century, and the establishment of the Mogul Empire in the sixteenth. It is enough for us here to note a great variety of races, struggling with one another in fierce and devastating wars, with little security for life or property, and that the right to rule was oftenest the right of him who was the strongest, or the most unscrupulous in wicked device. Such was the political history of India for twenty centuries prior to the battle of Plassy in 1757, when Clive asserted England's right to rule—a right confirmed on many a hard-fought field, and often by expedients that will not bear too close a scrutiny, but a right at last acknowledged by the prevalence of order and good government before unknown in her history.

In an estimate of the population of India, we may class as Hindus, 160,000,000; as Mohammedans, 45,000,000; as belonging to the rude native tribes, 50,000,000; and a little over 2,000,000 as Christians, of whom nearly one third are Protestants,—largely the fruit of missionary labors during

¹ Imperial Census of 1881, quoted by *The Bombay Guardian*, p. 455, July 21, 1888.

the present century. The character of these different populations has been recently defined by Sir William Hunter, whose wide acquaintance with India and special opportunities of observation have made him an authority. The term Hinduism has within a few years attained a specific character. It no longer admits of the old popular conception as the synonym of the lowest debasement of intellectual and moral character. As defined by Sir William, "Hinduism is a social organization and a religious confederacy. As a social organization it rests on caste, with its roots deep down in the tribal elements of the Indian people. As a religious confederacy, it represents the coalition of the cultured faith of the Brahmins with the ruder rites and materialistic beliefs of the more backward races. In both aspects Hinduism is a deliberate system of compromise."¹ It has the widest possible range of religious doctrines and practices; monotheism and lofty conceptions of morality for its highest minds, shading down to the grossest forms of idolatry for the multitude; and it has a ritual carefully adapted to every condition of life, from the cradle to the grave. When Protestant missions first entered India, they found that the Hindus had religious schools in their temples, and nominally in every village; that the Mohammedans had their schools and colleges; so too the Parsees and the Sikhs, and though these had fallen largely into decay, more than thirty thousand such schools with over 400,000 pupils were reported in the census of 1881 and 1882. The material results of the religious and educational systems of India are best seen in the general ignorance, poverty, wretchedness, and hopelessness of the great mass of the population. If there are a few men whose wealth vies with that of the Vanderbilts and Rothschilds, it has forty millions so poor as to lie down hungry at night on the bare ground; while but one man in 42 and one woman in 858 can read or write. The energy and enterprise of this vast population have been so stifled and dwarfed that the average income per individual is less than that of any other civilized race, barely \$13.50 per year, against \$20 even for the Turk, \$165 for the Englishman,² and \$200 per annum for each man, woman, and child in the United States.³ Such is heathenism in one of the richest countries of the world.

The missionary enterprise of the early church did not neglect India. The traditions of the Syrian churches of Malabar and Travancore date back to the first centuries of the Christian era, but the purity of the gospel and all aggressive power were soon lost in the mass of superstitions and ritual services; yet enough of life remained to perpetuate the Christian name through eighteen centuries, and to awaken special interest among the Portuguese Catholics of the sixteenth century and later in the English Church of the nineteenth; but any attempts to revive a purer faith have had little success; and in general character these Syrian Christians, numbering perhaps three hundred thousand, differ but little from the heathen around them. The converts of the Church of Rome, scattered widely through India, the

¹ See *Missionary Herald*, May, 1888.

² Rev. J. Johnston, abstract Education Commission, p. 115.

³ Edward Atkinson.

fruit of three centuries of effort, and numbering perhaps 1,200,000, are little better in moral character or influence.

Time would fail us to speak of the Danish missionaries of the last century, and of their apparent success for a time and their later collapse, despite the devotion and untiring efforts of some of the noblest of men. Not far from fifty different missionaries, Danes and Germans, though not more than ten at any one time, were engaged in these efforts to evangelize India before English Christians awoke to their duty. Though it is believed that the number of their converts amounted to not far from fifty thousand who had at least formally renounced heathenism, yet want of proper missionary organization, the failure to raise up a native ministry, and the fatal indulgence of caste, made their labors of little avail. Yet something was accomplished and the way prepared for the brilliant results achieved at a recent date by English missions, notably in Tinnevely and Travancore. The names of Ziegenbalg, Schultz, and Schwartz may well be remembered for their loyal devotion to the cause of Christ, and the honor they gained for the Christian name alike among Europeans and Hindus. Nor should we omit to mention in this rapid review of labors begun before organized missionary societies entered the field, the names of Henry Martyn and Claudius Buchanan, chaplains in the English service.

The British authorities, busy with their schemes of conquest, paid little attention to the labors of missionaries till near the close of the last century, when English officials, in view of their vast conquests, could not but be anxious lest some outburst of fanaticism should endanger their safety and rule ; hence when Carey and his associates arrived as representatives of English missionary interest, they were obliged to betake themselves to Serampore, a Danish settlement a few miles from Calcutta, and later the first missionaries from the American Board were turned back — Harriet Newell to die in the Isle of France, Judson to go to Burma, and Gordon Hall to Bombay.

India was thus practically closed to missionary effort. This, however, was but the darkness before the dawn. While the local authorities were opposing the advance of the gospel, the awakened Christian sentiment of England secured the revision of the charter of the East India Company, and freedom was obtained for missionary effort, at the very moment, too, when missionaries of this Board were on the ground ready to make use of the opportunity.

From this time on, two agencies have been at work for the social and moral regeneration of India ; the British government and the missionary, but the greater of these is the missionary. English statesmen of the highest rank, including men like Lord Lawrence, Sir William Muir, and English soldiers like Sir Herbert Edwardes, Henry Lawrence, and Havelock, have been known as the warm friends of missionaries, and the first to acknowledge the value of their labors. No better proof of the great change of sentiment in this regard could be cited than the letter of Sir Evan Nepean to Gordon Hall in 1813, and the memorandum of Lord Dufferin, published on

the thirty-first of December last, in which this statement appears : "The governor in council will be sincerely glad if the number of aided schools and colleges in which religious instruction is prominently recognized were largely increased. It is in this direction that the best solution of the difficult problem can be found."¹

Yet it would ill become us to fail to recognize the value of English ideas of law and order promulgated and enforced, of personal freedom and protection secured to life and property, of the abolition of suttee, infanticide, and other cruel practices, and the establishment of an educational system that now offers the advantages of education to more than three millions of youth, till the expenditure of fifty thousand dollars for the year 1813 has increased to more than eight million dollars in 1888.

The government of India — at first unfriendly to missionary effort, and lending its support to the maintenance of idolatry in its grossest forms ; making monthly grants for the support of heathen temples, Brahman priests, and dancing-girls, thus bringing contempt on the very name of Christianity ; later assuming a so-called position of neutrality and indifference, while rigidly excluding the Bible and all forms of religious instruction from its schools and colleges — has at last come to realize that mere intelligence is inadequate to the necessities of India, and turns to the various missionary organizations for aid in the moral and religious culture of youth. The highest officials recognize the missionary work as a most important factor in the development of the new India, as the great source of the moral and social changes in progress, and as the one force above all others that is contributing to the strength and permanence of British rule. Hence, of late years, the generous grants in aid of all mission schools, amounting often to one half of the expense incurred for the purchase and erection of school buildings, and for the support of schools once established, based on the proficiency of the pupils. Already we have an intimation of a desire on the part of the government to pass over its higher education, its colleges and universities, to the care of the great missionary societies. Indeed, the government, dissatisfied with the results of high education without religion of some sort, has come to the conviction that even Hinduism or Mohammedanism is better than no religion, and deems it wise to make grants-in-aid to institutions established by Hindus and Mohammedans, as well as by Christians, rather than to continue the present system. So disastrous to moral character has high education without religion proved, through the breaking down of all moral and religious restraints, that Hindus of high caste and Mohammedans are beginning to place their children in Christian schools, with a view not only to their better education, but for the moral results anticipated. This change of sentiment on the part of the government of India, and beginning among the higher classes best acquainted with missionary effort, is one of the most hopeful signs of the time. The moral influence of young men educated in government institutions is not satisfactory. Constructive agencies must be employed as well as destructive, and thought-

¹ Free Church of Scotland Report for 1888, p. 19.

ful men, to use the language of Sir William Hunter, are coming to realize that "the missions do really represent the spiritual side of the new civilization and the new life of India."¹

A higher wisdom than man is directing the thought of India. Dr. Duff, in 1830, and Lord Macaulay, in 1835, acted more wisely than they knew in favoring the introduction into the schools generally of the English language, now read and spoken by three millions of the people, who are thus brought in contact with the intellectual and moral life of the Anglo-Saxon race. Teachers of Western materialism and skepticism may have their day, but the deeper sentiment inspired by the gospel of Christ through the teachings of missionaries and through the lives of tens of thousands of native Christians is true to the divine plan. Within the last few years the feeling of a common brotherhood such as Christianity only could have awakened, rising above all distinctions of race, language, and even caste, has found expression in three national congresses; and what is more remarkable, among the six hundred delegates representing the various races, languages, and castes convened last December at Madras, there were forty Protestant Christians and Christian ministers, sent as the best men to be had mainly by non-Christian communities."² India is moving; a new life is stirring not yet the masses but the leading influential minds; and all this is but the providential aid granted to the church of Christ in its sublime mission of bringing India into the kingdom of God.

The Indian Empire of Britain is the standing miracle of modern history. As remarked by an English writer in a recent number of "The Contemporary Review" (June, 1888), "it is something that cannot be accounted for by any process of reasoning founded on experience;" and so statesmen who recognize no intervention in human affairs in the interest of the kingdom of God may well be at fault and tremble for the permanence of the imperial power. With profounder insight, not without something of patriotic pride, Keshub Chunder Sen declared that "it is not England with her trained soldiers, but Christ, that rules India." It is the moral power developed by the gospel in the English character and expressed in beneficent Christian institutions that compels the obedience of two hundred and fifty millions of men. The fact is a revelation of the divine purpose on a grand scale that has no parallel in the records of history — a sublime fact that imposes on the church of Christ its grandest obligation and offers it its highest privilege. Every step in the transition, from the factory of a trading company to the proclamation of the Empire of India, is marked by a corresponding growth of moral sentiment on the part of English rulers, and by the awakening of the Christian church to its duty and privilege.

It is now seventy-five years since missionaries were permitted to reside in the British dominions of India. This period, therefore, is the period of organized missionary effort among its varied races, in which nearly all the principal missionary societies of Europe and America have had a share.

¹ See *The Nineteenth Century* for July, 1888.

² Annual Report, Church Missionary Society, 1888, p. 152.

Beyond the translation of the Scriptures into more than twenty languages by Carey and his associates, and some acquaintance with the country and the peculiarities of its different races, but little remained to mark the results of former endeavors. As late as 1830, though thirteen different missions had been established and 140 missionaries put into the field, the number of communicants was only about 3,000,¹ while 40,000 children and youth had been gathered into schools of various grades. In 1851 the number of missions had increased to thirty-eight, and the missionaries to about 500, distributed over 222 stations. The number of communicants at that date, according to the best authority, was 14,661.

Down to this time and for some years longer, the work was prosecuted against great odds : against the unfriendly attitude of the government, the contempt brought on the Christian name by its avowed neutrality and even support of idolatrous worship, the education of thousands in the government institutions without the gospel, as if religion were unnecessary to the highest civilization ; and then there was the prejudice against missionaries as belonging to the same race as their conquerors, to say nothing of the thought and interest of a people of strong religious sympathies, fast bound in the meshes of caste and a multitudinous ritual, the most elaborate, the most corrupt, the most debasing ever devised by mortal man.

Yet a vast preparation had been made by a wide acquaintance with the people, with their languages and creeds ; by the translation of the Scriptures and the development of a Christian literature in many tongues ; by the respect won for the character and motives of missionaries, and by the changed lives of thousands of believers scattered through the land who gave proof that the gospel of Christ is indeed the power of God unto salvation.

The next thirty years, though the number of missionaries was but little increased (from five hundred say to six hundred), were to witness a great advance ; a fivefold increase in the number who avowed their acceptance of Christianity, from 91,092 to 492,882, and a tenfold increase in communicants, from 14,661 to 138,254.² There was also a threefold increase in the number of pupils in mission schools. The most remarkable progress, however, was in the development of a native agency as the right arm of the missionary force. The 21 ordained native ministers in 1851 had increased to 575 in 1881.

The last seven years, if we may judge from a partial examination of statistical returns, have not been less fruitful, and the number of communicants cannot now be less than 175,000, nor the recognized Christian adherents less than 700,000. But the great results of missionary effort for the last fifteen years, and especially for the last seven years, no statistics can measure. Note, for example, the enlarged opportunities for woman's work in Christian schools, in house to house visiting, now as never before reaching all classes, till thousands of high-caste women are brought under the instruc-

¹ Dr. Dorchester.

² See statement of Sir William Hunter in the *Missionary Herald* for 1888, p. 205.

tion of Christian teachers, or visited in their homes. In keeping with this, as expressing the change of sentiment already referred to, is the number from the higher classes who place their young men in our Christian schools, defraying a large part, if not all, of their expenses, save the salaries of their Christian teachers. One such institution, begun five years since at Ahmednagar in our Marathi Mission, with fourteen pupils, now numbers between three and four hundred. More than five thousand such youth, young men and young women, are to be found in the institutions of the Church Missionary Society in Southern India. Another marked advance is to be found in the growth of self-support and a worthier sentiment of independence and Christian manliness on the part of the native churches. The poverty of some of these native Christians has abounded unto the riches of their liberality, till in many churches the average contributions for the support of schools and churches, if reckoned at the value of the days' labor thus devoted, quite exceeds the average in the churches of our own favored land. A fourth consideration is the generous sympathy on the part of the government, as shown in its support of Christian institutions for education, and the changed sentiment of the higher classes toward Christianity, not widespread as yet, but begun. Nor should we here fail to recognize the vigorous efforts made in behalf of Mohammedans by the Church Missionary Society of England. It already has missions in ten different languages, and reports a church at Amritsar which includes 253 Mohammedan converts, out of a membership of 555.¹

Such is the vantage-ground now won, the vast preparation now made for enlarged effort in behalf of this great country containing one sixth of the population of the globe. The time draws near, waiting perhaps on our faith and Christian endeavor, for great religious changes in India. Hitherto the great accessions have come from the low-caste or no-caste population, and from among the aboriginal tribes, as the Karens of Burma, the Kholis of Central India, the Shanars of Tinnevely, and the Telegus; but individuals of all castes, from the lowest to the highest, have been attracted to Christianity enough to demonstrate the power of the gospel over all. From the peculiar habits of the Hindu mind, the great movements may be expected to be of thousands within the line of some one caste and then of another, not by slow processes of disintegration. Such movements may be nearer than we think. The preparation has been made. Have we faith to expect them?

India was the first foreign field to be entered by American missionaries, and in the great work accomplished, this Board has had a limited but worthy part. Its three missions are well organized and have had a success that compares favorably with other missions to the more civilized races. The names of Scudder, Poor, Spaulding, Winslow and Tracy, Hall and Ballantine, and others, have an honored place in missionary records. The devoted men and women now in the field are in the forefront of progress in all lines of missionary effort, evangelistic, educational, woman's work, and

¹ *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, September, 1888, p. 577.

preëminently in the development of self-supporting churches. The population of India that may be regarded as wholly dependent on the American Board for religious instruction is not far from six millions — four million of Marathas, of Aryan origin, and over two million of Tamils, belonging to the Dravidian stock. The limits of mission fields are well defined, and have been generously respected, save in the Marathi Mission, which lost a few years since one third of its best cultivated and most promising field, at a time when the mission was so reduced in men and means as to be unable to care for its legitimate work. Foundations have been laid, the institutions of the gospel, churches and Christian schools, established. A native pastorate is largely sustained by the churches, colleges and high schools for both sexes offer the advantages of higher Christian education, while mission schools of lower grade serve a double purpose in teaching the elements of primary education, and in opening the way to new places for the preaching of the gospel. All this organization is complete. The results are such as to encourage, and opportunities on every hand are open and inviting to large effort. Yet now the sad fact confronts us, there are not men and means to carry forward the work we have begun. Mission houses stand empty ; important centres must be neglected ; double duty is assigned to missionaries whose hands are already full ; open doors cannot be entered.

This is no time for retreat or for diminished effort. Other newer fields may seem more attractive, but in none is the need of help more urgent to gather in the harvesting of years of prayer and toil. Evil influences are rampant ; the enemy notes the weakness of our lines. Just as a better day seems dawning, the liquor traffic is starting up afresh to blight and blast the new civilization by the ruin of thousands of the educated classes, no longer under the moral restraints of their old faiths. As if recognizing the inadequacy of existing Christian agencies, Hinduism and Islam are waking to new energy, and reinforced by Western infidelity, are using our own weapons to drive us from the field. The printed page, charged with sophistries and falsehoods seldom seen in Christian lands, is widely scattered by colporters, and turned to account by the apostles of error.

The pending issue in India is of gravest moment. The benign influence of English rule, the progress of Christian civilization, and the spiritual destinies of two hundred and fifty millions of souls are at stake. Shall the work accomplished at such sacrifice of treasure and of life, shall the vast preparation now made and the vantage-ground now won be lost ? Shall the index of progress be turned back for a century ? Or shall the church arise, accept the great opportunity, grasp the prize now within her reach, and place it as her offering of love in the diadem of her risen Lord ?

UNION OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

SHALL each country protect itself from the other by lines of fortifications, dotted by custom-houses, carefully watched by smugglers, and expend their resources for armies and vessels of war? Shall we duplicate canals on our borders at every natural obstacle to commerce because we cannot agree for their common use? Shall we, like unfriendly neighbors, build a mad-lane between us, because we cannot agree to join our fences? One or the other of these lines of public policy will very soon have to be adopted, or, like the ancient English and Scotch, we will be in a state of continual controversy or warfare with each other. *I prefer a kind and generous policy to Canada rather than one of retaliation and force.* Nor will mere commercial arrangements, in their nature temporary, like the reciprocity treaty of 1854 and of 1871, liable to be set aside by the shifting exigencies of the political situation, meet or solve the problem we have before us. They only tend to emphasize our separation.

The way to union with Canada is not by hostile legislation; not by acts of retaliation, but by friendly overtures. This union is one of the events that must inevitably come in the future; it will come by the logic of the situation, and no politician or combination of politicians can prevent it. The true policy of this government is to tender freedom in trade and intercourse, and to make this tender in such a fraternal way that it shall be an overture to the Canadian people to become a part of this republic.

Any force used will defeat the object we have in view. It can only be approached by gradual measures that invite and tend to good will and intercourse. It cannot be promoted by controversy or retaliation. *These measures lead to others, and end in war.* There are restless spirits in every generation that seek to rise by the misfortunes of their country. There are narrow politicians that seek by tricks and popular appeals to gain an advantage; but in the end they fall by their own devices.

True statesmanship consists in an earnest effort by honest means to promote the public good. No greater good can be accomplished than by a wise and peaceful policy to unite Canada and the United States under one common government, but carefully preserving each to state its local authority and autonomy. This controlling principle of blending local and national authority — many in one — was the discovery of our fathers, and has guided the American people thus far in safety and honor, and I believe can be and ought to be extended to the people of Canada. With a firm conviction that this consummation, most devoutly to be wished, is within the womb of destiny, and believing that it is our duty to hasten its coming, I

am not willing for one to vote for any measure not demanded by national honor, that will tend to postpone the good time coming when the American flag will be the signal and sign of the union of all the English-speaking people of the continent from the Rio Grande to the Arctic Ocean. — *Speech of Senator Sherman in U. S. Senate, September 18, 1888.*

Every American is always willing that the Canadian Dominion should be absorbed in the territories of the Union. He does not, it is true, wish to conquer Canada, because conquered Canadians possessed of the vote and able to make alliances with all discontented parties, either in the South or on the Pacific slope, would be the most dangerous of subjects; but if Canada would come in willingly, he would be greatly pleased. The Union would then become the North American Republic; it would be doubled in size at a stroke; it would acquire immense valleys which may ultimately absorb the wheat-growing business, and some coveted mineral districts; and it would be strengthened by the inclusion of a numerous and most competent sea-faring population. No American is, or can be, content with the condition of his mercantile marine, or blind to the fact that if it continues, the sea-board population of the Union will gradually lose all habit of the sea and capacity for maritime enterprise. On the other hand, the majority of Canadians are of the old stock, and although the Frenchmen would be a foreign, and for a time an annoying element in the population, every true American believes in the power of his people to absorb any kind of white men. Canada, therefore, would be welcome, and it may be true that her welcome would just now be additionally cordial owing to the growth of an idea that the black race in the South is becoming too numerous and politically too strong. This desire to absorb Canada, and so stretch the Republic to the North Pole, has, however, always existed, and Senator Sherman's speech will not help it to become more active. He does not want any more than any other politician to shoot down Canadians to secure their love, and so long as Canada is uninvaded, she is as free to dispose of her destinies as she was before the speech was delivered, — that is, she is absolutely free. Great Britain is as little inclined to coerce her as the American Union is, and has decidedly less power of doing it.

Canada will dispose, we may be sure, of her own destinies, and we see no new reason to believe that she purposes to be absorbed in the great Republic. It has always been a matter of surprise to us that the attraction of the mighty State by their side has been so small for Canadians; that they have been so little tempted by the commerce of a continent, so little desirous of sharing a position more secure, and in some ways more imposing, than that of any people on the globe. Were the Union and the Dominion united, no State on earth would have such a territory, such a position, or such potential resources for influencing the history of mankind. It has always been so, however, since the Declaration of Independence, and we believe the true reason to be this. The ruling class in the Union, like the ruling class in England, with many virtues and great capacities, has in it, when acting as a people, a quality of disagreeableness which is felt by all outsiders, and

which every now and then seriously impedes its march. The Irish do not hate the English worse than the Southerners hated the Northerners who were so closely bound to them; the Spanish Americans positively loathe them, so much that they entirely misread their character; and the Canadians hardly like them better than, say, Englishmen once liked the Scotch. There is no especial reason for the antipathy, no grand difference of race, color, creed, or civilization; but it exists, and will affect probably for generations the relations of the two peoples. The Canadians would rather remain British than be freed from foreign troubles by becoming citizens of the Union. Moreover, they begin to think, and, what is more important, to feel, that they have a third alternative. Why should they not be a nation with a history of their own? Seated as they are on the two great oceans, with a territory practically limitless, wholly beyond attack from Europe, and with the surplus of Europe to swell their population more and more rapidly as the Union grows full, they may, if left alone, become in a century a power with a place in the history of mankind, and a social order modeled by themselves after their own ideas. The only external danger is the hostility of the Union, and the reasons which prevent the Union from invading the Canadian Dominion will also prevent it from conquering the Canadian Republic. The expenses of separateness may be great, but the Americans bore them easily; and were they twice as much, prospective expense is the last thing which a democracy ever fears. At present, Canadians are content; but if a change should seem inevitable, if England, for example, should give up Ireland, and so prove herself effete, the Canadians will, we believe, at least try to be a nation, certain that, should they fail, the time can never arrive when, with their glorious dower, they will be refused admission into the American Republic. For the present they can wait. They have no quarrel with Great Britain, and as to American offers, young nations do not sell their future to gain commercial privileges. We say they have no quarrel with Great Britain, for we look upon the loud threats of seceding if the Foreign Office does not fight for their fish, as the rhetoric of politicians anxious to alarm Lord Salisbury, and not as the inner idea of the Canadian people. They must know perfectly well that if the Canadians are really oppressed, Great Britain will do her duty as protector, but that two great nations are not going to wrap the world in flames and put back progress for a hundred years by a quarrel over fish, more especially when their governments only a minute ago settled that quarrel to the satisfaction of all concerned. Two merchants might as well go to law over money which one was willing to pay and the other to receive. The Republicans of the States want to oust Mr. Cleveland, not to wage a maritime war with Great Britain, or to forfeit all chance of the absorption of Canada in peace and willingness. — *The (London) Spectator*, September 22, 1888.

Annexation is not the word. The United States can never annex Canada any more than Canada can annex the United States. The United States is the more populous country and has the more benign climate. But Canada

has the larger territory, has an already large population, has a government as completely developed as that of the United States, has its equal history and traditions, and will certainly overflow with millions of men, such as have been produced from the frozen loins of the populous North of the Old World. When the United States and Canada unite into one nation, it will be a consolidation of equal states under a government of the whole, and not a purchase of territory, as in the case of Louisiana, Florida, and Alaska, to remain long in territorial tutelage. Those were cases of annexation; this will be one of union.

We have to thank Senator Sherman for bringing this subject to the front. We would be glad to have commercial union; we shall be satisfied to have political union. We would have the people of the two countries keep the subject before them. Let it be understood that it is not out of the pale of practical politics. What ought to be, can be, must be. It will be better for the United States and for Canada if we are one people, with all possibility of ill-will removed. We are one people, separated only by imaginary lines, or by rivers that are no natural barriers of people. Those who inhabit the valley on one side are of the same sort as those that live on the other bank. The Mississippi unites, not separates our people. The St. Lawrence is a solvent, not a disintegrant.

We do not need to repeat and repeat that the United States will use no influence to secure the unwilling assent of Canada. We want no union that is not most cordial. Our people have not taken the interest in the subject that they should, and are much more in danger of being indifferent than of being eager. There is very much of a sentiment among us that we have territory enough, are doing well enough, and want no more. The acquisition of Alaska, although the best piece of statecraft to be credited to William H. Seward, has never been treated half seriously by our people. But we would have on our side a cordial hand of welcome held out. We would have Canada know that we believe union would be best for both people, and that we shall rejoice when it comes. We would have the matter kept in constant view across the border, and enter into Canadian politics.

The present position of Canada is a humiliating one. It is neither a nation, like Great Britain, nor a part of a nation like Scotland. It is a colony which receives its chief ruler imposed upon it, allowed by favor to have its own legislature, but dependent on a distant government, in whose composition it has no part, for the ratification of its laws. It cannot make war or peace, can have war or peace forced upon it, can make no treaties, is liable to invasion whenever any nation proclaims war with England, and is the puppet of the politics of a nation entangled with alliances with which it has no interest. Let a war come between England and France, and the United States is not affected, while Canada is ruined. The very gewgaws of state, the meagre baronetcies given as a reward to Canadian statesman, are the bestowal not of its government, but of a government across the sea. Canada is under disadvantages not only toward its sovereign nation across the ocean, but also toward America, as the smaller toward the greater. The

only cure for all its infelicities is union. Canada thus comes into an equal and sovereign right, preserves its own local self-government, by its separate states, and acquires an equal portion in the government of what would be the mightiest nation in the world.

We would have Canadians understand that this change will not be a transfer of loyalty from England to the United States. It would be the assumption of their own independent rights, and the consolidation of those rights with those of their closest neighbor. What stands in the way is sentiment, a mighty power; but there are stronger sentiments and interests that ally them with their own continent. We wish the end of the century might see the union fully consummated. — *The Independent*, October 11, 1888.

LAWS CONCERNING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS.

AT this year's meeting of the Presbyterian Synod of New York, held October 16-19, at Syracuse, a committee, which for several years has had education under consideration, presented a report which would be of interest to many outside that State. It embodied the results of an extensive correspondence with State Superintendents of Instruction, and an examination of state laws concerning positive religious instruction in public schools. It appears that out of twenty-eight States and Territories whose statutes were examined twelve have no law upon the subject, five content themselves with prohibiting sectarianism, in two morals and good behavior alone are insisted upon, and New Hampshire only provides for the election of religious teachers. Iowa's terse law reads, "The Bible shall not be excluded; no pupil shall be required to read it contrary to the wishes of his parent." New York makes no provision for any part of the school hours being used for religious exercises, but forbids the exclusion of the Scriptures. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Minnesota lead the van in explicit and admirable legislation, requiring piety as well as morals, the fear of God as well as a due consideration of the rights of man.

Curiosities in legislation are the following: West Virginia law demands that "teachers must be of good moral character and not addicted to drunkenness." Arizona enacts that morals shall be taught, but adds, "Any teacher who shall conduct any religious exercises in his school shall be deemed guilty of unprofessional conduct, and it shall be the duty of the proper authority to revoke his diploma." Nevada, ignoring all other moral considerations, requires in most ungrammatical language an oath of every candidate for the position of teacher to the effect that he never has been, and, so long as he retains his office as teacher, never will be connected with a duel.

Dissatisfaction with existing legislation and customs is widespread, but is chiefly found among Roman Catholics and Lutherans who insist that primary religious instruction should be denominational and under the care of the church. It should be added that in Illinois a considerable number of opponents of the public school system demand that it be purged of all religious influence whatever. Parochial schools are increasing in several parts of the Union, and in view of the fact this committee raises the question whether state supervision should not at once be extended to all schools.

The conclusion to which the committee is led by its wide survey of the field is that, with few exceptions, the school system is accomplishing substantially the same results in regard to morals and religion as during the past quarter of a century; that there is nevertheless a vast amount of superficial thinking and careless legislation upon the whole subject, and that therefore the question should be agitated until its importance is recognized by all and its difficult and perplexing problems are satisfactorily settled.

The Synod, at the suggestion of its committee, reaffirms and emphasizes the following recommendations which it published last year, and orders their republication in its printed Minutes: —

First — That the Synod affirm its conviction that our national vigor and permanence are guaranteed only by a religiously grounded morality.

Second — That, without claiming it to be the province of the state to teach religion for religion's sake, the Synod should yet confess its belief that, in order to the state's own interest, there should be, in every school maintained by the state, the inculcation of such principles of dependence upon God and obligation to Him, as are essential to sound learning, safe character, and wholesome citizenship.

Third — That the Synod should encourage the appointment of such teachers as shall be in accord with the spirit of the second recommendation, and bring the entire weight of its influence to bear against whatever, by statement or suggestion, shall antagonize the claims of the God upon whom we depend and to whom we owe obligation.

Fourth — That your committee should be continued to communicate to the Synod whatever information it may be able to secure as to the

policy pursued in this particular in other Christian countries and the results respectively reached ; and to scrutinize and report upon whatever attempts may be made to introduce atheistic teaching in our public schools.

Fifth — That the Synod should instruct its ministers publicly to recognize difficulties in which the case is involved, and to bring those difficulties to bear as an argument for more thorough, intelligent, and faithful, religious instruction on the part of the family, the Sunday-school, and the church.

It is indicative of the progress secured by this committee in educating the judgment of thoughtful men upon the subject, that, although the principle embodied in the above resolutions was emphatically opposed when first propounded in the Synod three or four years ago, it has this year been reiterated both by the Presbytery of New York and by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its meeting in Philadelphia last May (Minutes, page 115). The principle is briefly this, that the Divine Existence and Human Accountability must be recognized as essential parts of public instruction for the welfare and perpetuity of a free state.

GEORGE SHIPMAN PAYSON.

THE FUTURE OF PROPERTY.

MR. CROCKER, the Californian who recently left four millions to his heirs, after he became a rich man brought up his three sons to work. They were not, he thought, as millionaires, safe from the worst risks of poverty. He knew the temper of the industrial class upon his own continent ; he had closely observed the same class on the continent of Europe ; and he had arrived at the conviction which he expressed to a friend, giving at the same time detailed reasons, that within twenty years, poverty in the ordinary sense — that is, wealth independent of labor — would cease to exist in all civilized states. The opinion is not very valuable in itself, for Mr. Crocker may have been, like Mr. Morris, both money-maker and Socialist ; self-made millionaires are not necessarily wise men, nor is a knowledge of industrial conditions even on two continents equivalent to insight into the future of society ; but it is interesting because it embodies in a rough way a thought which is floating in the air, and which greatly influences many politicians. Half the resistance to new ideas is due to a belief that the ultimate end of the changes will be an attack on property, an idea which there is a good deal *prima facie* to justify. All civilized countries are now more or less democratic, and the democracy in all countries is trying to make itself more comfortable, often through schemes which, if realized, would be fatal to accumulation. The extreme party, both in Germany and France, openly menace wealth, declaring that all capital ought to be transferred at once to the state — that is to the majority, that is to themselves — and its product distributed to the workers, and the workers only, either with absolute equality, or according to their visible need. The Russian peasantry, who are, in fact, the Russian people, are at this moment striking in many provinces against the landowners, and, aided by the autocracy, may succeed in a great measure in redistributing the soil. In Italy and Spain a similar effort is ultimately certain, the tenure in both of them being so worked as to be exceedingly injurious to the happiness of the majority ; and in the United Kingdom there is a regular crusade going on both against rent and against the aggregation of land. Thousands apparently believe an eviction to be immoral, — which it is, if it is immoral in a baker to refuse bread without payment. Proposals are incessantly made for compulsory division of the land, each man taking what he wants “at its agricultural” — that is, in practice, at its wholesale — “value ;” and laws in restraint of ownership are passed almost every year. Opinion has abolished imprisonment for debt as regards all large amounts ; and the prevailing sentiment appears to be that if a man has borrowed a shilling, has spent it on himself, and cannot repay it, to make him try is a kind of legalized oppression. A good many think, indeed,

that if a man have a pair of boots, he should give one of them to his bare-footed neighbor. In Ireland, property in land has been almost destroyed; it must be destroyed in Wales during the first session of the next Liberal Government; and it is doubtful whether logic will not demand an attack on it in England also. In America, even, the dislike to the great corporations is rising to fever-heat, foreign "monopolies" of land have been prohibited by statute, and some at least of the demands of the million Knights of Labor would, if granted, render accumulation exceedingly difficult. At the same time, the tendency to throw all taxes upon property, and the bulk of the taxes upon superfluity, is everywhere increasingly visible, and would, but for the democratic wish for Protection, and the general dread of cheap alcohol, soon become a most serious restraint upon the habit of accumulation. Rich people in Geneva, for example, take a good deal of trouble to keep their property outside the Canton, and Geneva possesses what reasonable extremists would pronounce a nearly ideal constitution. There are a great many observers besides Mr. Crocker who think this movement the general movement of the age, sure not to exhaust itself till it has reached its logical conclusion, which is, of course, the distribution by the community of all wealth, according to its own ideas, for the general benefit of the community; and there are thousands, hundreds of thousands, who are "conservative" only because at heart they dread lest any change, however apparently sensible, should hurry on that consummation. They are not sure enough of their conclusion to teach their children trades, like Mr. Crocker, but they are sure enough to vote against change, and to feel also a certain reaction against "philanthropic" projects which is not altogether beneficial to progress.

We incline, on the whole, and in spite of many symptoms, the worst of which is the English sympathy with the Irish disrespect for contract, to think the pessimists mistaken. They underestimate both the strength of Christianity, which throughout its ethical system assumes individual property and justifies freedom of contract, and the social force by which property is defended. It is not only by those who have capital that capital is protected, but by all who desire to have capital, — that is, probably 90 per cent. of the human race. That civilized mankind will march a certain distance in the direction indicated by Mr. Crocker, is likely enough, and in accordance with most of the visible symptoms of the hour. Taxation will, for example, be pressed more heavily on the rich, and this even in England, where the great Rating Reform which is one day inevitable will add perceptibly to their burdens. The Continent is visibly marching along a road which leads to a Poor-Law, and the weight of a Poor-Law must fall, in part at least, on property. There will be new Statutes of Distribution intended to diffuse wealth, and there will be for a moment a relaxation in the working of the laws which secure the regular payment of debts. There will come a distinct agitation for the compulsory sale of land at a price, the "interest of labor" being held to justify exploitation, like the interest of the state. There will be a good many experiments made, especially in the way

of housing the people, and the taxpayers will have to witness a waste of money advanced in the shape of loans, which may for a time be as lavish as the French waste upon public works. But the capitalist can recoup himself for direct taxation; the people, indifferent to waste in dribblets, dread it in large sums — witness the fuss about Mr. Gladstone's proposal as to Irish land — and of sudden, violent, and successful attacks upon property we have no acute dread. All over the Continent, outside Russia, Spain, and South Italy, as well as in America, physical force is on the other side, those who own property wielding the majority of rifles; and though this is not the case in England, the majority here seek an ideal which Communism would not gratify. They want to be respectable freemen, with hot suppers, black coats, and something laid up, not the regimented serfs of municipalities paid according to need. Proposals against property are received very readily and discussed very lightly up to a certain point; but the moment the community felt them to be either anti-Christian, or dangerous to accumulation, or injurious to the interests of humble investors, the reaction would be of the most severe description. It was after the Revolution that the laws of France for the collection of debt, laws which the democracy have never attacked, grew so scientifically stern. At this very moment in England, you cannot imprison a man for a debt of a thousand pounds, but you can for a debt of ten, and no member loses his seat for not denouncing that sufficiently remarkable distinction. It is because the effect of the new philanthropy is not felt by the body of the people, or if felt, is felt to be to their advantage, that it is so acceptable. Let the new ideas once hurt them, and popular members, at all events, will abandon their proposals very quickly. It is all very well for the Duke of Bedford, say, to feel that his town rents are threatened; that will not affect votes; but just let the building societies feel it, and then see how eager philanthropic members for expanding cities will be for the moral law. The freeholder in the great cities just now is a *caput lupinum*, a mark for anybody who chooses to call him a bloated brute; but if Mr. Broadhurst's bill passes, and leasehold dies away, the freeholder will be called in every hustings speech the backbone of the community. If there were a million of yeomen in England, every Radical member for a county would declare that the eighth commandment was specially revealed to protect property in land. In other and perhaps more becoming words, we believe that the force on the side of property is too great for a sudden attack, and that the slow attack — the movement of the age, as it is called — in exact proportion to its success draws to the side of the property-holders new and powerful allies. Every man who owns a field is on the landlord's side, nor will any man who owns a house bear laws which leave the tenant free to refuse both rent and surrender of the tenement. Property will become safe, just as consols became safe. They were considered not safe before 1830. Nothing was so popular shortly after the Great War as to denounce the bloated bondholder, to recommend forcible reduction of interest, and to predict "the sponge." We doubt if the wildest Radical in the least prosperous city dare do it now, and the reason is not far to seek. Not only

is the weight of the debt less felt, but the people, through the savings-banks and insurance societies of all magnitudes and kinds, are interested in its safety, and would storm at any speaker who proposed repudiation, as they now do at any manager of a defaulting savings-bank. Even in Ireland, if the peasantry owned their farms, there would be a total change of sentiment about ownership, and we might even hope to see Mr. Davitt boycotted for denouncing individual property in land. Confiscation is improbable, because the resistance, armed resistance if necessary, would be too strong; and as for "movement," the impetus must diminish with every forward-step. The man who has "gotten a coo" may be relied on to fight for property-right in herds. — *The (London) Spectator*, September 8, 1888.

THE RIGHTS OF THE RED MAN.

FOR several years, Mr. Albert K. Smiley, who is now one of the Board of Indian Commissioners, has invited every autumn to his beautiful residence at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., as his guests, a large group of experts in the study of the Rights of the Red Man. Among those who took part in the Mohonk Conference this year were the two brothers Smiley; Indian Commissioners Fisk, Whittlesey, and Barstow; Secretaries Kendall, Strieby, and Ellinwood; Professors J. B. Thayer and F. G. Peabody, the Rev. H. W. Foote, and Messrs. Houghton and Dudley of Cambridge and Boston; Austin Abbott, Judge Draper, Superintendent of the Schools of New York; ex-Mayor Low of Brooklyn; General Armstrong and Gen. C. H. Howard; Editors Kinney of Hartford, Smith of Philadelphia, and Abbott and Ward of New York; Professor Painter of Washington; Mrs. Quinton, Mrs. Senator Dawes and Miss Dawes, Miss Helen Ludlow, Miss Collins, Mrs. Kinney, and nearly a hundred other officers of Indian associations, and earnest men and women from all over the country.

The following platform, with which we heartily sympathize, was adopted by the Conference:—

The Lake Mohonk Conference at its Eighth Annual Conference reaffirms the principles of justice and equal rights affirmed at previous sessions, and in the name of the people of the United States demands their application in better and more thoroughly organized systems of jurisprudence and education.

1. The Indian is not a foreigner; the tribe is not a foreign nation. Whatever his past history may have been, the Indian now is, in point of fact, a member of this nation, and as such must be amenable to its laws, subject to its jurisdiction and authority, and entitled to the privileges and prerogatives which belong to and are inherent in citizenship. Among these are the right to protection in the ownership of property, liberty in his industry, and the freedom of an open market for his productions. The land laws already passed recognize these his inherent

and inalienable rights. It remains for the nation to protect him in them by some adequate system of courts organized by and vested with the authority of the federal government, and easily accessible to the poorest, the least influential, and the most remote. During the present transition period, the Indian cannot, with either safety or justice, be given over to the protection of state and local courts, which are often inaccessible and not always impartial, nor left to petty police tribunals organized by and dependant on the will of the Indian agent, tribunals essentially inconsistent with the fundamental provisions of the constitution. The Conference gives its hearty approval to these essential principles of organized justice, and urges upon the favorable consideration of Congress the bill proposed by the Law Committee of this Conference, now pending in the United States Senate, or some other bill embodying these principles.

2. Neither land in severalty, nor law administered by competent courts, will suffice for the protection of the Indian. More fundamental than either is his education. The present ill-organized and unsystematic educational methods of the government, the imperfection of which has necessitated the labors of voluntary and philanthropic societies, should give place to a well-organized system of popular education, framed in accordance with the principles of our American institutions, and competent to provide the entire Indian race with adequate education. It is the duty of the federal government to undertake at once the entire task of furnishing primary and secular education for all Indian children of school age on the reservations under federal control. It has no right to thrust this burden upon the pioneer populations in the midst of which the Indians happen to be located. It has no right to leave the burden to be carried by the churches and private philanthropic societies which have taken it up only because the necessity was great and the neglect absolute. The cost of education is immeasurably less than the cost of war: the expense of educating the Indian for self-support less than one tenth the cost of keeping him in pauperism. We call upon the Department of the Interior to inaugurate at once a thorough and comprehensive system, providing, at national expense, on principles analogous to those which experience has incorporated in our public school system, for the education of all Indian children in its ward and care, in all the elements of education essential to civilized life and good citizenship — the use of the English language, the common industrial arts and sciences, the habits and properties of domestic life, and the ethical laws which underlie American civilization. We call upon Congress to push at once, and by wholly adequate

appropriation, the necessary funds for such a system, for buildings, teachers, inspectors, superintendents. And in the name of the Christian and philanthropic people of the United States and of the people of those Western States and Territories, who rightly demand that the charge and burden of a pagan and pauper population shall no longer be thrown upon them, we pledge their cordial coöperation in such an effort to remove at once the national dishonor of supporting ignorant and barbaric peoples in the heart of a Christian civilization, with only feeble and wholly inadequate endeavors to bring them into harmony with a free and Christian civilization.

3. This education should be compulsory ; but on those principles of compulsion which are recognized as legitimate in the free commonwealths of the world. The Indian child should be required to receive such education as will fit him for civilized life and for self-support therein, but his parents should be left at liberty to choose between the government and the private school, so long as the private school furnishes the elements required by civilized life and conforms to a uniform standard prescribed by the government and maintained in its own schools. A uniform standard of qualification should be required of all teachers receiving appointment, and should be enforced by rigid and impartial examinations. The tenure of the teacher's office should be permanent. Removals should be made only for inefficiency, incompetency, or other unfitness. And the entire educational service, from the superintendents of schools to the primary teachers, should, in the interest of just administration and efficient work, be exempt from those changes and that instability of tenure which appertains to political and party appointments.

4. In view of the great work which the Christian churches have done in the past in inaugurating and maintaining schools among the Indians, and of the essential importance of religious as distinguished from secular education for their civil, political, and moral well-being, an element of education which, in the nature of the case, the national government cannot afford, the churches should be allowed the largest liberty, not, indeed, to take away the responsibility from the government in its legitimate sphere of educational work, but to supplement it to the fullest extent in their power, by such schools, whether primary, normal, or theological, as are at the sole cost of the benevolent or missionary societies. And it is the deliberate judgment of this Conference that in the crisis of the Indian transitional movement the churches should arouse themselves to the magnitude and emergency of the duty thus laid upon them in the providence of God.

5. Nothing should be done to impair or weaken the agencies at present engaged in the work of Indian education. Every such agency should be encouraged and promoted, except as other and better agencies are provided for the work. In particular, owing to the anomalous condition of the Indians, and the fact that the government is administering trust funds that belong to them, what is known as the "contract system" — by which the nation aids by appropriations private and missionary societies in the work of Indian education — ought to be maintained by a continuance of such aid until the government is prepared, with adequate buildings and competent teachers, to assume the entire work of secular education. In no case should the government establish schools to compete with private or church schools which are already doing a good work, so long as there are thousands of Indian children for whose education no provision is made.

AMERICAN INJUSTICE TO THE CHINESE.

AMERICANS who care for justice, and do not reside in districts much frequented by Chinamen, must feel greatly ashamed at the reports from the frontiers. The government of the United States, it will be remembered, endeavored to pacify the anti-Chinese agitation in California by negotiating with China for a revision of the treaty regulating Chinese immigration. That arrangement was made at a period at which the United States favored, and Pekin discountenanced, the importation of Chinese labor. The Chinese government has never been in love with the system, and does not seem to have explained to its representative at Washington a temporary change in its practical attitude. In good faith he, having charge of the diplomatic negotiations for the empire, agreed to restrictions of Chinese immigration which amounted to a prohibition. At Pekin the draft convention had a reception totally unexpected by him and by the United States government. Popular feeling had been aroused in China, and especially in Canton and the neighborhood. Powerful interests are there engaged in the immigration traffic. The Viceroy of Canton and Li Hung Chang, who had been associated with the Foreign Board at Pekin for the investigation of the question, urged the danger of resisting the general sentiment. Consequently the treaty was rejected, to the American surprise and wrath. By the Chinese Exclusion Act the same objects are aimed at in a somewhat more peremptory manner. That is now working; and the United States officials at the ports and on the borders are acting upon it vigorously. Several hundreds of Chinamen have been forbidden recently to disembark at San Francisco. Some who were old residents, and possessed return certificates, have been excluded with the rest. The protests of the Chinese Consulate and appeals to the District Court have been unavailing. The frontiers are watched, and Chinamen are stopped from entering by way of the Canadian Dominion, even by Niagara. So largely do the officials interpret their duty and rights under the act that permission has been refused to a Chinaman in business at Montreal, who is a naturalized British subject, to visit New York. The taint of Chinese blood appears to be thought by American custom-house agents as indelible by British citizenship as was a few years back that of Jewish blood by the police of St. Petersburg. So extreme a specific exercise of jurisdiction will doubtless be admitted on proper representations to be not justified by the act itself. So far as American law is concerned, the course taken by the frontier and harbor officers against ordinary Chinese immigrants may be deemed to be regular. They could not have acted otherwise without risk of punishment. But a law may be binding upon the servants of a state, and they may be bound to

enforce it against subjects of another state, though the state which employs them may have no right to order its enforcement by them. The Chinese Exclusion Act can be validly pleaded by American officials against individual Chinese plaintiffs. It cannot be pleaded by the American against the Chinese government taking its stand upon international obligations.

A treaty is still in force, though it can hardly be said to be in operation, by which it is lawful for the Chinamen who have lately been restrained from landing to enter the United States. Had the Convention of Washington been ratified by the Foreign Board at Pekin, some, not all, of them might legitimately have been excluded. A municipal law to which the Chinese government is no party cannot have that effect, or anything approaching it. All it could in any case have accomplished would have been the grant to American officials, as among themselves and against their countrymen, of authority for the purpose of carrying out treaty obligations old or new. States have, or cannot be denied, power in the last resort to terminate international compacts which they find intolerable. They do it at their own peril, as they at their own peril declare war, when for some reason they believe they can no longer endure the conditions of peace. In accordance with the understanding of civilized communities, so extreme a resolution requires a preliminary stage of solemn explanations and warnings. The mere circumstance that Pekin does not consider a draft convention for the modification of a previous treaty satisfactory cannot be held sufficient. Englishmen are entitled to criticise the conduct which is being pursued in the United States, because they have experienced similar perplexities, and are as disappointed as Americans at the failure to disentangle them diplomatically. Australasia is as discontented with the inrush of Chinese laborers as the United States, and was as furiously resolved to check it. A revised treaty, which it was imagined that Pekin would welcome rather than oppose, seemed to offer a just and mutually agreeable solution on one side of the Pacific as on the other. After the American experience it is obvious that the season is not opportune for trying this form of remedy. It has always been clear that public opinion in the United Kingdom would not sanction an attempt, like that now being made across the Atlantic, to override treaty stipulations by domestic legislation. From the information our Melbourne correspondence contained yesterday on the tendency of Australian feeling, it may be hoped that colonial opinion is as little inclined as British to incite the state to infractions of international comity. The government of Victoria had begun by going beyond that at Washington in its defiance of Chinese rights. By its instructions, without a statute, the collector of customs prohibited in April the disembarkation of a shipload of Chinamen. They had to return to their own country in the ship which brought them. The government acted in deference to the popular storm which was raging last spring against Chinese immigration. The prerogative so to act it derived, it contended, from an inherent right of the British crown to keep out aliens, friendly or not, without cause assigned. Power to use the prerogative passed, it further argued, for Victorian territories to

the Victorian government by virtue of the establishment of the Victorian Constitution. One of the intending immigrants, named Ah Toy, had the courage to dispute the government's constitutional jurisprudence. He sued the government, and the judicial bench by four to two has adjudicated in his favor. The majority, against the doctrine of the chief justice and one of his colleagues, held that no precedent exists for the exercise of the alleged prerogative by the crown in modern times. If any case could be discovered, it would still, in their view, have to be shown that the prerogative had been communicated by the sovereign or the imperial Parliament to a colony. It is a very important and a very sensible decision, which the Judicial Committee is not likely on appeal, should there be an appeal, to reverse. But still more important and more sensible is the reported disposition of the Australian press and public to accept the result without murmurs. The American public would help to extricate both itself and its government from an untenable position if it would take example by Australian opinion, and allow it to be perceived that it did not mind retreating.

It can scarcely be questioned that this it will finally have to do. Pekin is capable of a quiet obstinacy very hard to move when it is in the wrong. When it happens to be in the right it is not likely to yield. The only rightful course for Washington is to treat the acts of its frontier subordinates as precipitate exhibitions of a zeal which must be curbed. It should construe its exclusion law as a weapon meant to be kept in the administrative armory till the ratification of a fresh immigration treaty calls it into effect. Perhaps diplomacy may be able to concoct a compromise which will be more palatable at Pekin and Canton than the despised draft. The Chinese government is notoriously too proud to wish, except as a matter of right and logic, to let its subjects bear the character of unwelcome intruders. When a plan has been devised between Pekin and Washington which satisfies both, it is probable that the same principles would be found applicable to Chinese immigration into British colonies. Claims of the right of national legislation to override international covenants, and of some theoretical or hypothetical prerogative, which has never been employed, to forbid the entrance into a free Anglo-Saxon community of a particular race or nationality, are plainly and equally inadmissible. Australia is to be congratulated, and the United States to be consoled with, on the different tempers in which at present they seem to be handling a very similar problem. — *From The Times, London, October 17.*

MELBOURNE, September 6.

THE very important case Ah Toy against the Victorian government has just been decided by our Supreme Court in favor of the plaintiff. The sole question involved was whether it is competent to the government or to any authority in Victoria to prevent an alien friend from landing in the colony. The action, therefore, being of vital interest, even internationally, as concerning the relations between the British and the Chinese governments, our six judges of the Supreme Court sat together as in a trial at bar to hear the

arguments of counsel upon the facts set forth in the pleadings verified by affidavit. The arguments lasted several days, and of course the court took time to consider their judgment. They were not unanimous. Chief Justice Higinbotham and Mr. Justice Kerferd were for the defendant; but Justices Holroyd, Williams, A'Beckett, and Wrenfordale held that the defendant had acted illegally in preventing the plaintiff from landing. The government will probably appeal to the Privy Council, especially as the court was divided; but the better opinion in professional circles here is that the judgment of the majority will be upheld in the higher court. Meanwhile the plaintiff's damages will be assessed by a judge.

Although this case has already been under the attention of the home government and Parliament, it may not be superfluous to shortly state the facts for the information of the readers of "The Times." The plaintiff, Ah Toy, a subject of the Emperor of China, arrived in Melbourne in April last in a vessel called the *Afghan*. He was one of 254 Chinese passengers by the same ship, the number being admittedly much larger than the proportion of such passengers to the tonnage as authorized by our local act. For any excess of such number the captain was liable to penalties; but this provision, it was justly contended, could not apply to a passenger innocent of any complicity in the violation of the law. Our statute regulating Chinese immigration to Victoria imposes a capitation tax of £10, which amount was tendered by Ah Toy to the collector of customs acting on the part of the government; but the latter, influenced by the popular agitation of the time, decided to exclude the plaintiff, who together with many of his fellow countrymen were taken back to their own country in the ship in which they were brought here. At the hearing of the case it was contended by the attorney general, Mr. Wrixon, that her majesty could, by her mere prerogative, exercised in any part of her dominions, exclude any alien, however friendly, without cause assigned, and that such power was imparted to the Victorian government by virtue of our Constitution Act, which confers in such large measure the rights and privileges of a responsible Parliament. In support of this contention Chief Justice Higinbotham delivered a very long and labored judgment, in which, however, as stated above, only one of his colleagues concurred. The other four, in much briefer terms, were unanimous in expressing their opinion that there were no legal grounds whatsoever on which the conduct of the government could be sustained. They held that, even admitting — and that only for the sake of argument — that such a prerogative had ever been exercised or deemed exercisable by a British monarch, it had never been exercised in modern times; and that, even if it had been, it has never been either expressly or by implication communicated by the crown or imperial Parliament to any colony. This judgment is in accordance with a judgment of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, delivered some time back under similar circumstances. The adverse feeling against the Chinese seems to have very considerably subsided. — *The Times, London, October 17.*

BOOK NOTICES.

CHILDHOOD: ITS CARE AND CULTURE. By MARY ALLEN WEST. Chicago: Woman's Temperance Publishing Association. 1887. Royal 8vo. Pp. 760.

This large and timely book, by the alert and skillful hand of the editor of the "Union Signal," deserves careful attention from all who would keep abreast of the progress of the literature of Reform. It is popular in style but scholarly in spirit; it is at once conservative and progressive, cautious and bold, motherly and fatherly, scientific and Christian. It discusses a wide range of topics, all of which, however, are germane to the great subject of *Childhood*, and of the most vital importance in family life. It ought to find readers in a million households.

It is not a book of sermons or didactic teaching, but one that has grown naturally out of the rich soil of a thousand homes. During twelve years my work took me constantly into the homes of the people; hundreds of homes scattered far and wide over the entire country opened to me hospitable doors. They ranged through all gradations of social life from the log-cabin on the frontier to the patrician home of wealth and culture. In every one were found some of the elements constituting the true home. Near every hearthstone bloomed some sprig of the herb called heart's-ease. From these homes I have gathered many of the thoughts given in these pages; they are, therefore, not untried theories, but blessed experiences. (Author's Preface, p. 6.)

Now that a majority of the States of the Union, under Mrs. Hunt's astonishingly successful leadership, have adopted laws making scientific instruction as to alcoholics and narcotics compulsory in the public schools, it is to be expected that the pulpit and the religious press, and especially the writers who discuss childhood and family life, will teach total abstinence from both intoxicating drinks and tobacco. A book on childhood written fifty or even twenty-five years ago might have omitted the latter topic, but Mrs. West discusses it in words as brave as they are wise (pp. 423-425):—

Germany strictly interdicts the use of tobacco to all youth, and bases the prohibition on the fact that "tobacco lessens the future capacity of service to the state, especially in military life." If it deserves interdiction because it unfits for military duty, it surely deserves it on higher grounds. It tends to produce cancerous affections of the mouth and throat. Senator Hill, of Georgia, a man honored and respected by the nation, died from this cause; General Grant died before his time from the effects of his cigar.

Cigarettes are more deleterious than cigars because they are usually made of refuse tobacco, "doctored" to give the required flavor. The paper in which they are encased, instead of being rice paper, as it pretends to be, which is expensive, is

often made from the filthy scrapings of rag-pickers, and is treated with arsenic to give it the proper appearance. Several States have passed laws forbidding the sale of cigarettes to minors under sixteen. The way this law came into existence in one State illustrates one danger from cigarette smoking. A noted politician of New Jersey had a son who desired to enter Annapolis Naval Academy; he secured his appointment, passed successfully the literary examination, but was rejected on account of physical disability. His tonsils were eaten away, and the examining surgeon attributed it to cigarette smoking. At the next meeting of the state legislature his father procured the passage of the bill forbidding the sale of cigarettes to minors.

Physicians tell us that many cases of chronic headache among women are directly traceable to their husband's cigar. These cases are more marked among the wives of business and professional men who smoke indoors, than among those who smoke in the open air, as in the latter case the effluvia is blown away, and does not settle in the clothes, to be carried into the home. I knew a lovely girl, the only child of a literary man, who from childhood had been accustomed to spend much time with her father in his library. When she was about sixteen her health broke down, and no resident physician could ascertain what ailed her. Her father took her to a noted physician in Philadelphia, who examined her critically, and pronounced her disease the effect of nicotine poisoning. As she had never used tobacco in her life this seemed absurd, but the physician persisted in his opinion and inquired into her manner of life. On learning that she spent several hours a day with her father, who was an inveterate smoker, he said, "That explains the mystery. You smoke in her presence in a close room; the whole air becomes charged with nicotine, and hers being a sensitive physical organism absorbs the poison, which has produced the result you see."

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY. By the Professors in Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. V. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 404.

This series of volumes constitutes an admirable and almost indispensable aid to preachers, students, and the educated public generally in the arduous and alluring work of keeping abreast of Current Discussions in Theology. The numbers of this Annual Theological Review have steadily improved from the first. The plan of them is scholarly and practical, and is carried out with a thoroughness which we are delighted to see that the public approves. No one in America is better entitled to speak on the present state of Old Testament studies than Professor Curtiss, who writes on that subject annually in these volumes; Professor Gilbert's chapters on New Testament studies are of high interest and value; Professor Scott's review of the most recent studies in Church History is always able; Professor Wilcox's discussion of Pastoral Theology we find uniformly practical and suggestive; Professor Fisk's notices of Current Homiletical Literature are alone worth more than the price of the volume; while Professor Boardman's passages on the Outlook in Systematic Theology will be neglected by no alert and earnest student of the theological and religious signs of the times.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY PROFESSOR H. C. SHELDON, OF THE CHAIR OF HISTORICAL
THEOLOGY IN BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

51. *What are the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice concerning indulgences?*

As we have had no connection with the controversy which has been in progress, so we write without reference to that controversy. We simply respond to request, and give the facts of history as we understand them, irrespective of their bearing upon any temporary interest. It will be observed that the citations are mostly from Roman Catholic sources.

I. PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE DOCTRINE.

In the minds of the Scholastics who first elaborated the doctrine of indulgences there were three presuppositions on which their tenet depended. These same presuppositions have been part and parcel of Roman Catholic thinking ever since. Stated briefly they are as follows :—

1. There is such a thing as superfluous or superabundant merit. Not only did Christ gain an excess of merits, but many of the saints have greatly exceeded the satisfactions due to their sins, and so have laid up a surplus of merits. "Of which merits," says Thomas Aquinas, "so great is the abundance that they exceed all the punishments due to those now living."¹

2. These superabundant merits constitute a treasury, for the benefit of the church, and under the control of the governors of the church, especially the Pope. "The saints," says Aquinas, "in whom is found a superabundance of works of satisfaction, have not done works of this kind specifically for him who needs remission, but for the whole church in common. And so the aforesaid merits are the common property of the whole church. But things which are common to a multitude are distributed to individuals of the multitude, according to the decision of him who is at the head of the multitude."²

3. Notwithstanding the remission which is given through the absolving sentence of the priest, a temporal penalty remains in general for any serious transgression, which penalty the penitent must discharge by works of satisfaction in this life, or by enduring the pains of purgatory in the life to come.

¹ *Sum. Theol.*, Pars III. Sup. 25 : 1. ² *Sum. Theol.*, Pars III. Sup. 25 : 1.

II. THE DOCTRINE.

As suggested by the list of presuppositions, an indulgence is properly defined as a remission, in whole or in part, of the temporal penalty which is due for sins ; conferred by an authorized agent of the church ; and having its ground in the treasury of merits which is in the keeping of the church.¹

To gain a full understanding of the import of this definition, it is necessary to determine what is meant by the temporal penalty in question. Is it simply a punishment which the church prudentially imposes for the sake of disciplining its subjects ? or is it a punishment demanded by Divine justice and imposed by the will of God. The latter conception, it is to be observed, is much deeper than the former, and must greatly modify the estimate of an indulgence, since a prerogative to remit a penalty ordained by Divine justice is quite other than a prerogative simply to take off an ecclesiastical censure or requirement of penitential discipline. The evidence seems to be conclusive that the authentic teaching of the Roman Catholic Church makes the temporal penalty which is canceled by an indulgence, not merely an element in ecclesiastical discipline but a demand of Divine justice. This is plainly the conclusion of Thomas Aquinas.² It is contained likewise in the terms used by Leo X. in his bull against Luther's teaching ; for in speaking of the temporal penalty, to which an indulgence applies, he describes it as a "penalty due according to divine justice."³ The language of the Council of Trent carries the same implication, representing the temporal punishment as something ordained in the Scriptures, flowing from the Divine will, and effectually barring the way to heaven until it is discharged.⁴ To the same effect are the statements of various Roman Catholic writers. Charles Butler says : "The Roman Catholic Church teaches that God frequently remits the essential guilt of sin and the eternal punishment incurred by it, but leaves a temporal punishment to be incurred by the sinner ; that this temporal punishment may consist either of evil in this life, or of temporal suffering in the next, — which temporal suffering in the next we call purgatory ; that the temporal punishment may consist of both these inflictions, and that the church has received power from God to remit them either

¹ See Council of Trent, Session VI., Decree on Justification, chap. xiv. ; Session XXV., Decree on Indulgences ; Trent Catechism, pt. II., chapters lxx., lxxvi. ; Leo's bull, *De Indulgentiis*, as given in Luther's Latin works, or as quoted, in part, by Alzog, *Kirchengeschichte*, § 300 ; account of the conference of Cajetan and Luther at Augsburg, in Luther's Epistles, LXXXIII.-LXXXV., XCv., and in Küstlin's *Martin Luther*, i. 217-233.

² *Sum. Theol.*, III. Sup. 25 : 1. Speaking of the opposite opinion he says : *Hæc opinio non videtur vera, quia est expressè contra privilegium Petro datum, ut quod in terra remitteret, in cælo remitteretur. Unde remissio quæ fit quantum ad forum ecclesiæ, valet etiam quantum ad forum Dei.*

³ *Pœnam vero temporalem pro actualibus peccatis secundum divinam justitiam debitam.* (Alzog, *Kirchengeschichte*, § 300.)

⁴ Session VI., Decree on Justification, chap. xiv., and can. xxx. ; Session XIV., *passim*.

wholly or partially." ¹ With express reference to the question under consideration, John Milner says : "It is the received doctrine of the church that an indulgence, when truly gained, is not barely a relaxation of the canonical penance enjoined by the church, but also an actual remission by God himself, of the whole or part of the temporal punishment due to it in his sight. The contrary opinion, though held by some theologians, has been condemned by Leo X. and Pius VI.; and, indeed, without the effect here mentioned, indulgences would not be *heavenly treasures*, and the use of them would not be *beneficial*, but rather *pernicious* to Christians, contrary to two declarations of the last general council [that of Trent], as Bellarmin well argues."²

One further point needs to be considered in order to an accurate understanding of the definition: What bearing has an indulgence upon a subject who is in purgatory? That it avails for such an one is regarded by Roman Catholics as unquestionable truth. But in what sense does it avail? Has it the same judicial force in its application to the dead which it has when conferred upon the living? The subject has been compassed with great practical obscurations, but it seems to be the approved opinion that the church is not intrusted with an unqualified rule over purgatory, so that an indulgence in behalf of one in purgatory, while it supplicates his release, and is likely to secure it, is not strictly mandatory upon the Almighty.³

III. THE PRACTICE UNDER THE DOCTRINE.

That the way in which indulgences were managed during a long period, especially in the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century, was a scandal and a disgrace to Christendom, no one will deny who has both knowledge and candor. As the system was made accessory to money-getting it naturally yielded, in the absence of powerful safeguards, to the same incentives which corrupt mercantile conscience and practice. As well expect an unscrupulous tradesman to show up the defects in his goods, as to expect ambitious hawkers of indulgences to carefully limit the value of their wares. It mattered little with what qualifications the theory was set forth in the treatise of the theologians. The money-chest was best filled when the people saw in the indulgence an easy means of escape from the consequences of sin, a passport which should take them safely by the fires of purgatory or bring their friends out of the torture. Accordingly, as frequently represented by the immediate dispensers of the spiritual merchandise, and as understood by the people, the indulgence had practically the value of a pardon of sin. Confession and absolution were not indeed ruled out; but before the virtue which was cried up in the indulgence they sank close to the plane of mere routine. That there were extensive abuses of this nature it is perfectly idle to deny.⁴ The Council of Trent admitted

¹ *Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, pp. 109, 110.

² *The End of Controversy*, p. 408.

³ Perrone, *Prælect. Theol.*, *Tract. de Indulg.*; Klee, *Dogmatik*, iii. 317.

⁴ For evidence respecting the practices of Tetzel see Lüscher, *Reformations-*

the fact when it used this language : "Being desirous that the abuses which have crept therein, and by occasion of which this honorable name of Indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, be amended and corrected, the holy synod ordains generally by this decree, that all evil gains for the obtaining thereof — whence a most prolific cause of abuses amongst the Christian people has been derived — be wholly abolished. But as regards the other abuses which have proceeded from superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or from whatsoever other source, since, by reason of the manifold corruptions in the places and provinces where the said abuses are committed, they cannot conveniently be specially prohibited, it commands all bishops diligently to collect, each in his own church, all abuses of this nature, and to report them in the first provincial synod." ¹

Thus far we have spoken of the crooked practices of subordinates. To what extent were those who sat in the high places of the church responsible for misconception and abuse ? To an extent, it must be answered, which seriously compromised their prudence and their honor. In the first place, there are instances of decrees so worded, that, in the absence of explicit declarations to the contrary, it might be concluded that the indulgence conveyed a remission of sin outright. Thus the Lateran Council of 1123, the first œcumenical council held in the West, promised to those who should go to Jerusalem, and aid efficiently in its recovery from the infidel, *remission of their sins* as well as protection of their property.² This it promised without specifying any religious condition whatever. Grant that conditions were understood, the council by omitting to state them gave a certain encouragement to servile and materialistic views of salvation. Scarcely more guarded was the promise made by Pope Julius II. in 1505, that those who should join the campaign of the King of Portugal should have full remission of all their sins and enjoy eternal felicity in the society of angels.³

Acta ; F. Körner, *Tezel, der Ablassprediger* ; Luther, *Epist. XLII.*, De Wette's edition. In this letter written to the Archbishop of Mayence, October 31, 1517, Luther says that the minds of the people on every hand were infected with the delusion that indulgences made secure of salvation, released souls on the instant from purgatory, and took away all punishment and guilt. *Credunt infelices animæ, si literas indulgentiarum redemerint, quod securi sint de salute sua ; item quod animæ de purgatorio statim evolent, ubi contributionem in cistam conjecerunt ; item, quod homo per istas indulgentias liber sit ab omni pœna et culpa.*

¹ Session XXV., Decree on Indulgences.

² Can. xi. *Eis qui Hierosolymam proficiscuntur, et ad Christianam gentem defendendam, et tyrannidem infidelium debellandam, efficaciter auxilium præbuerint, suorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus, et domos et familias atque omnia bona eorum in B. Petri ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ protectione, sicut a domino nostro papa Urbano statutum fuit, suscipimus.* (Mansi, tom. XXI.)

³ *Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem et indulgentiam, quales per prædecessores nostros Romanos Pontifices dari consueverunt proficiscentibus in subsidium terræ sanctæ, et quales in anno jubilæi per eosdem prædecessores concessa fuit, concedimus pariter et donamus ; ac eorundem omnium, quos in hac*

But this loose statement of the terms of an indulgence was a less common fault than its perversion to schemes of avarice, ambition, and intolerance. Striking illustrations might be given, were it not that they would occupy too much space. We content ourselves with the general picture which a Roman Catholic historian has drawn. With a bold candor which does him great credit, Lingard says of the practice of indulgences near the Reformation era: "As often as money was required for any object really or apparently connected with the interests of religion, they were offered to the whole people. . . . Abuses of two kinds grew out of the practice. (1.) The money was frequently diverted from its original destination, and found its way into the private coffers of the pontiff or into the treasuries of the secular princes. (2.) The office of collecting the contributions was committed to inferior agents called questors; whose interest it was, as they received a percentage on the amount, to exaggerate the advantages of the indulgence, and to impose on the simplicity and credulity of the people. It is indeed true that, to prevent such abuses, several constitutions had been enacted by several popes, but these laws were either not enforced, or had fallen into disuse; and those who bewailed the evil saw little hope of remedy from pontiffs who seemed to have forgotten their spiritual character, in their ardor to free Italy from the dominion of strangers, and to aggrandize at the same time their respective families."¹

Abuses on the ample scale here depicted may be a thing of the past. But abuses in dealing with indulgences are not yet at an end. To say nothing about the discreditable trifling with *plenary indulgences for the dead*, which no responsible authority dares to pronounce really plenary, dispensations are still given for that which the church has again and again treated as gross sin. In a recent issue of a religious journal a former Roman Catholic writes: "What shall be said, if it can be proved that an indulgence has been sold lately to allow of the commission of a grave sin? This has been done, and let me add that it has been commented on even by Roman Catholic journals with great sorrow. The present Pope has given the Duke of Aosta permission to marry his niece, or, in other words, to commit incest, for the sum of \$50,000. Of course this indulgence is called a dispensation; but what are words, the fact remains."² Compare this action with that of Celestine III. and Innocent III. in breaking into the royal families of

sancta expeditione proficisci contigerit, animas in sanctorum Angelorum consortio in celestibus regnis et æterna felicitate permansuras perpetuo decernimus collocandas. (Raynaldus, *Annales eccl.*, anno 1505, n. 5.)

¹ *History of England*, vol. vi. p. 90.

² *Congregationalist*, Sept. 27, 1888. We quote this simply as a definite testimony to two facts: (1) the sale of the dispensation, (2) the adverse comments of some Roman Catholic journals. The moral quality of the marriage in question lies outside of our consideration. What we emphasize is, that it is a strange thing under the sun for an authority to prohibit, under the highest censures, a marriage within the sixth or seventh degree, and yet *sell* a dispensation for a marriage within the third degree of affinity.

Spain, and ordering, under pain of interdict, the wife to be torn from husband and children, because of a marriage within forbidden degrees. Surely this infallible potentate is given to some caprices, or else failure to obtain his consent is the peculiar sin !

IV. ESTIMATE OF THE DOCTRINE.

That there should have been crude practices under the doctrine of indulgences is no cause for surprise. The doctrine itself is crude ; it runs indeed into an essentially materialistic conception. The idea from which it starts — the treasury of superabundant merits — is a conspicuously gross idea. It applies the quantitative category where such a category is impertinent, and proceeds on the basis of extension where intension alone has validity. Every one who is not blind to the standard of spiritual value will allow that works of satisfaction, apart from the ruling purpose and disposition, have no merit. Every one will allow the same respecting sufferings. No one will say that he, who goes out of his way merely for the sake of suffering, merits anything. No one is authorized to say that seemingly unmerited suffering, under the ordering of Providence, if it be met in a right spirit, may not be fully compensated to the sufferer in his increased spiritual development and opportunity to glorify God. The ruling purpose and disposition being thus made the test, the question arises, Can any finite being transcend here his obligations ? Can he in any conceivable relation raise the inner disposition above the ideal which the Divine holiness makes binding upon him ? The notion is preposterous and insufferable. All rational creatures, from earthly saint to archangel, in view of the imperfection of their powers have reason to say, after they had done all, We are unprofitable servants. That spiritual help should be rendered by one to another is truly a most amiable feature in the Divine economy. But this helpfulness needs no treasury of superabundant merits. Even with respect to the work of the Lord Jesus Christ any definite application of the quantitative category is impertinent. We know that He filled an unexampled vocation with a work inexpressible in its moral beauty and worth and entirely adequate to the redemptive purpose. More than this we do not know. To draw a circle around the general demands of redemption, and to say that the merits of Christ filled this and furnished a great surplus besides, is to bring in a conception no less crude than arbitrary, a commercial figure, which, taken in any strictness, is more worthy of an apprentice in a counting-room than of a theologian.

Again, the rigid way in which the notion of Divine justice is carried out, and made to limit the Divine forgiveness, savors of a legalism which certainly is not suggested by the parable of the prodigal son, and is alien to the whole Pauline and Johannine conception of the believer's sonship. No doubt, under the economy of law there are consequences of sin which are not fully canceled by the Divine forgiveness. But to suffer a consequence of sin, and to be under a penal infliction which is imposed by justice in its legal aspect, are two very different things. In the one case the remedy is

inward grace or providential kindness ; in the other, bare suffering or legal acquittal.

If these two points call for reprobation, what shall be said of the remaining one which unites with them to complete the foundation of the doctrine of indulgences, — the conception that the prelates of the church, and especially the Pope, are enthroned over the demands of Divine justice, to retain, relax, or remit them. Think of Almighty God being required to look into the money-chest, or to consult the motions, of such impious men as John XII., John XXIII., and Alexander VI., in order to determine whether souls are to be released from the demands which his own justice has imposed upon them ! How it sinks the tremendous thought of Divine justice, when the acknowledged demands of that justice are thus placed under the manipulation of any lax, corrupt, hypocritical, or shameless incumbent who may chance to occupy the chair of Peter, or of subordinates who may be equally apostates from the spirit of Christianity ! ”

In the Romish system there is gold and there is dross. The doctrine of indulgences is a fraction of the dross. It presents one phase of that deistical development which tends strongly to banish God, as a living authority over faith and conscience and life, and to put in his place a hierarchy centring in an absolute lord at Rome.

To make our record of expert opinion on the topic of Professor Sheldon's paper as full as practicable, we add to the foregoing the article by Professor G. P. Fisher, of the chair of ecclesiastical history in Yale Divinity School, as given in the “Conversationalist,” July 5, 1888.

“Indulgence,” like “satisfaction” and some other theological terms, was taken up by Latin theology from the Roman law. *Indulgentia* meant *remission* — remission of a penalty, or, it might be, of a tax. In theology, it denotes the remission of certain penalties. What penalties ? This is the first important question.

The Church of Rome draws a sharp distinction between eternal punishment, the doom of unrepentant and unreconciled sinners, and “temporal” (or temporary) punishments, which are inflicted by God, directly, in the course of his providence or in purgatory, or indirectly through the penances imposed by the church laws — the canonical penances. *Temporal* punishments of whatever sort are inflicted on children of the church, children of God, who are contrite and absolved, but who for the sake of satisfying the Divine justice, and for their benefit, are still obliged to expiate by their own

¹ As there is no such thing as official piety, there have been good popes and bad popes. It accords with the postulates of the Romish system that indulgences from the bad should be equally valid with those from the good. This is clearly argued by Thomas Aquinas. *Per peccatum homo non amittit jurisdictionem. Et ideo indulgentiæ æque valent, si fiant ab eo qui est in peccato mortali, sicut si fierent ab eo qui est sanctissimus, cum non remittat penam ex vi meritorum suorum, sed ex vi meritorum reconditorum in thesauris ecclesiæ.* (*Sum. Theol.*, III. Sup. 26 : 4.)

sufferings all gross lapses from duty. These expiations, it should be added, are supposed to depend for their efficacy ultimately on the atoning sacrifice of Christ. Baptism effaces the guilt of all prior sin, and weakens the evil inclination, or principle of sin. It connects the sinner in fellowship with God. "Mortal sins," that is, sins of a heinous character, forfeit grace, separate the offender from God, and, if they are not forgiven, bring upon the soul perdition. The remedy is the sacrament of penance. This consists of three elements: (1) contrition of heart; (2) auricular confession to the priest; and (3) satisfaction, that is, such penances as the laws of the church and the justice of God may require. The extent and severity of these penalties depend on the turpitude of the transgression. They may embrace not only fastings and other forms of suffering here, but, also, long-continued pains in purgatory.

Thus it will be seen that penances are penalties inflicted on the "contrite." The favorite illustrations of Roman Catholic divines are the case of David, who was forgiven, but to whom, nevertheless, Nathan said: "Howbeit . . . the child that is born unto thee shall surely die" [2 Sam. xii. 14]; and the case of the fornicator (referred to by Paul), who was to be delivered unto Satan "for the destruction of the flesh," that "the spirit" might be "saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" [1 Cor. v. 5]. In these cases pardon did not altogether abolish punishment.

Now an indulgence is a *remission of penance*. The forms of penance in vogue in the ancient church were not adapted to the condition of the Northern nations. For various reasons canonical penances might be mitigated or they might be abridged; for they were imposed by the church for certain seasons, varying in length with the character of the offenses. But it came to be the custom to *commute* these penances by other forms of self-chastisement, such as pilgrimages, almsgiving, or donations to sacred purposes, as the building of churches, the support of crusaders, etc. The release from penance was called an "indulgence." The theory thus far is clear enough. It becomes less clear when the indulgence takes the form of the release of dead men from purgatory. This, it is held, is effected not by the judicial act of the priest, who, in the exercise of the power of the keys, absolves the living penitent. Still "the power of the keys," the disciplinary authority committed to the priesthood, is not limited by the confines of this life. The church, however, effects the liberation of departed souls in a peculiar way, *per modum suffragii*, a mode analogous to the effect of prayer. The theory is helped out by another belief, with which the doctrine of penance in general is inseparably connected. This is the assumption of a treasury of supererogatory merits. The superabundant merits of Jesus, and the surplus merits of holy men of peculiar sanctity, whose sufferings on earth exceeded the required measure, are stored up on high, and are available for the benefit of their weaker, sinning brethren, and may be, in the way indicated, set to their account. The "mystical union" of Christ with all his followers, the unity of all in one body, is invoked in behalf of the reasonableness of this transfer. Alexander of Hales and other schoolmen rounded out the

doctrine of indulgences by this conception of a treasury of merits, and it received ecclesiastical sanction.

The foregoing explanations will show that no teacher in the Church of Rome, who is intelligent and honest, and no good man, would regard with any other feeling than abhorrence the idea of giving a man permission to commit an act which was recognized as a sin, or absolve a man beforehand from the penances which would follow such an act, if he were to do it and then to repent of it. Dante charges Pope Boniface VIII. with the atrocious guilt of such a violation of sacerdotal duty, and sends him to hell for it ; since

No power can the impenitent absolve.

But the charge against Boniface was, perhaps, a Ghibelline slander. Boniface had sins enough to answer for without the added guilt of this accusation.

Not to speak here of *doctrinal* objections to the Roman theory of indulgences, that enormous abuses have sprung up, at different times, in connection with it Roman Catholic authorities of the first rank have freely acknowledged. That such abuses existed under the pontificate of Leo X., owing to the greed for money which his worldliness and prodigality created, they have frankly conceded and lamented. As managed by Tetzel and his associates in Germany, the disposal of indulgences became a shameless traffic. Janssen, one of the most recent polemical historians on the side of Rome, says : "The court life of many ecclesiastical princes in Germany, in particular that of Albert, Archbishop of Mayence, stood in crying antagonism with the calling of a church dignitary, but the court of Leo X., with its lavish outlay for sports and the theatre, and all kinds of worldly festivities, corresponded still less to the idea of a head of the church." It was Albert of Mayence to whom the sale of indulgences in a great part of Germany was committed. He was to have half the proceeds, to help him to pay his debt to the Fuggers, from whom he had borrowed money to pay Leo for his pallium. Tetzel was one of Albert's commissioners. Janssen says what he can for Tetzel, but even Janssen adds : "Nevertheless, grievous abuses occurred, and the attitude of the preachers, their way of offering and crying up the indulgence, produced a variety of scandals." Janssen quotes from Jerome Krnzer, an opponent of Luther, who speaks of the guilty "greed for gain of the commissioners, monks, and priests, who preached in so shameless a style of the indulgence, and laid more stress on money than on confession, penitence, and sorrow" ("Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes," ii. pp. 64-76). Janssen further refers to what Cardinal Sadonet — the same against whom Calvin wrote — said of the indulgences issued by Leo X. Sadolet said that he had opposed the decrees granting them, and would not defend them, and much less the agents concerned in the disposal of them. Earnest protests against trading in indulgences had long been heard, in different countries, from men loyal to the church, before the doings in Saxony awoke the just and honest indignation of Luther. The Council of Trent denounced "the manifold corruptions" which had arisen

from "superstition, ignorance, irreverence," etc., on the subject. The council further took action in the form thus stated in the "Catholic Dictionary" of Addis and Arnold, which bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal McCloskey and other prelates [New York, 1884]: "The Council of Trent energetically prohibited the 'disreputable gains' made from those who desired to obtain indulgences (*pravos quæstus pro his consequendis*), from which a most plentiful course of abuses has flowed into Christian nations."

For a complete account of the Roman doctrine and practice respecting indulgences, much more space would be requisite. The specifications of time — which mean that they are to be the equivalent of canonical penances for a period of equal duration — the nature of "plenary" and of other species of indulgences, the specific conditions on which indulgences are granted, would require to be explained. There are several points in the doctrine which cannot be expounded without plunging into the intricacies of dogmatic theology. For example, subtle distinctions, like that between "attrition" and "contrition," and the definitions under this head, which Protestants regard as hurtful and misleading, are of this character. The main object here is to set forth the Roman idea that an indulgence is the remission of penal sufferings here and in purgatory — sufferings which even the penitent have to endure; the underlying proposition being that the pardon of a sin does not relieve the sinner from the whole of the punishment which his transgression deserves.

The only effectual way to supplant or overthrow the Roman Catholic dogma is by holding up in contrast with it the New Testament doctrine of justification by faith alone. It was this doctrine, as set forth by Paul and reasserted in ringing tones by Luther, which inspired the reformers, and produced the Protestant Reformation. Forgiveness of the penitent "without money and without price," and an immediate access to God through Christ, without the intervention of a human priest, were the truths which the reformers proclaimed with an irresistible ardor of conviction. When they have been preached out of a living experience of their power, they have never failed to interest profoundly the hearts of men of all grades of culture, and to impart to them the purity, along with the hope and comfort of the gospel.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

AFTER forty years of successful fraud, the notorious Fox sisters, who began in 1848 the so-called spirit rappings in America, confess themselves to be impostors. They explain their tricks to the public as feats of legerdemain. They denounce Spiritualism as wholly a cheat and delusion. In these events, Spiritualism receives a blow from the effect of which it will not soon recover. The names and career of the Fox sisters have for nearly half a century been among the most cherished memories of American and European Spiritualists. The facts concerning this confession of fraud are so important that we place on record here the testimony of eye-witnesses as to what took place before an immense audience, Sunday evening, October 21, in the Academy of Music, New York, where the exposure was made. A committee of expert physicians, who were called to the platform on that occasion, announce that they are satisfied that the so-called spiritualistic slate-writing is a trick—an opinion which the Editor of this periodical some years ago published and yet holds as his own—and that the rappings by the Fox sisters were produced by the action of the great toe. It will be noticed that the accounts in the leading New York journals agree and so verify each other as to the great meeting at the Academy of Music. Margaret Fox is now Mrs. Margaret Fox Kane, and Catherine Fox is Mrs. Catherine Fox Jutkins. They were introduced at the Academy of Music by Dr. C. M. Richmond, a professor of legerdemain.

The great building was crowded and the wildest excitement prevailed at times. Hundreds of Spiritualists had come to see the originators of their faith destroy it at one stroke. They were greatly agitated at times and hissed fiercely. Take it all in all, it was a most remarkable and dramatic spectacle.

There stood a black-robed, sharp-faced widow working her big toe and solemnly declaring that it was in this way she created the excitement that has driven so many persons to suicide or insanity. One moment it was ludicrous, the next it was weird.

When Mrs. Kane appeared on the stage she was greeted with cheers and hisses. She put on her glasses, curtsied to the audience, and read slowly and in a voice trembling with emotion this confession:—

"That I have been mainly instrumental in perpetrating the fraud of Spiritualism upon a too confiding public many of you already know. It is the greatest sorrow of my life. It is a late day now, but I am prepared to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God!"

Here Mrs. Kane stretched her hands upward impressively.

"Many here will scorn me, but if they knew the sorrow of my past life they would pity, not condemn. [Applause and hisses.] When I began this deception I was too young to know right from wrong. I hope God Almighty will forgive me and those who are silly enough to believe in Spiritualism."

Dr. C. M. Richmond, who is managing the exposé, invited doctors to come up on the stage. Three doctors knelt down, took hold of Mrs. Kane's big toe, and assumed a grave air. They then declared that they could hear rappings which were produced by the toe. Mrs. Kane finally stood up to let the audience hear.

There was a dead silence. Everybody in the great audience knew that they were looking upon the woman who is principally responsible for Spiritualism, its founder, high priestess, and demonstrator. She stood upon a little pine table, with nothing on her feet but stockings. As she remained motionless, loud, distinct rappings were heard, now in the flies, now behind the scenes, now in the gallery.

Upon these rappings Spiritualism sprang into life, and here was the same toe rapping it out of existence. Mrs. Kane became excited. She clapped her hands, danced about and cried:—

"It's a fraud! Spiritualism is a fraud from beginning to end! It's all trick! There's no truth in it!"

A whirlwind of applause followed. Her sister, Kate Fox, sat in a box with John A. Stevens and applauded. Then Mrs. Kane went down into the audience and, placing her foot on the foot of a well-known gentleman, gave him a series of sharp tiny raps that he felt and acknowledged.

Before Mrs. Kane appeared Dr. Richmond gave the audience a thorough exposé of the slate-writing, mind-reading, and oil-painting tricks of Slade, Diss De Barr and other impostors. He explained them in detail. A fierce looking foreigner got up and denounced Dr. Richmond's tricks, saying that the Spiritualists produced their effects by spirit power, and he would prove it if he could get the platform.

"There is a Philadelphia gentleman in this audience who authorizes me to say that he will pay \$5,000 to any person who can produce, without human aid, a mark an inch long on a slate," said Dr. Richmond. "Any human being who can do that can get \$5,000."

The doctor glared at the foreign Spiritualist, who became meek and quiet.

"I denounce only fraud. I do not attack Swedenborg's beautiful theory of Spiritualism. But the man who claims to do the things I have done here to-night by spirit power ought to be in the penitentiary. There have been no miracles since eighteen hundred years ago."

"Nor before that either," roared some one.

"That's as far back as my memory goes," said the doctor. "I have taught the mediums two or three new frauds which I have invented myself."

Dr. Richmond produced on a slate messages from the late Emperor Frederick William and a message to Jake Hess. There was a committee of sixteen gentlemen on the stage.

"I want one of the committee to write on a slip of paper the name of some distinguished person who is dead."

"Crowley!" yelled a voice.

"Harrison!" howled another.

The name was written and it was "Frederick William," whereupon the message from the dead monarch appeared upon a slate. All this was shown to be mere legerdemain.

After the show Dr. Richmond and the Fox sisters were surrounded by an excited crowd.

"I have spent thousands and thousands of dollars investigating this gigantic

humbug," said the Doctor, "and I think I am entitled to the pleasure of being present at its death and assisting in the funeral."

It was the general opinion of people who were in the Academy last night that the confession of the two founders of Spiritualism and the complete exposure of the tricks of mediums ends this form of swindling and that it can never recover from this crushing blow. The Spiritualists in the audience almost frothed at the mouth with rage as they left the building, and muttered furious threats against their foes. — *New York Herald, Monday, October 22.*

Dr. Cassius M. Richmond has been for some time advertising the death of Spiritualism. He gave it a hard knock in the Academy of Music last night, where an immense audience assembled, most of the people in it to encourage him, others to hinder him, others to make nuisances of themselves. It was in many respects a rare and remarkable gathering. One could easily pick out in the crowded seats professional men of all sorts — ministers, physicians and lawyers, scholarly men and women, men of repute in legitimate scientific research, others notorious in the walks of humbug, women well-known by the frequenters of materialization seances, the distinguished "cranks" who adorn every such occasion, and Sunday night idlers.

The doctor got together a committee of fifteen and proceeded to perform a number of exceedingly pretty tricks. The audience felt a little bit "out of it" because Dr. Richmond has not yet learned Herrmann's knack of allowing the house to see everything that is going on as well as the committee sees it. But nearly everybody was patient and good-natured.

Dr. Richmond allowed the committee to choose the name of a dead person. This was written on a slip of paper while the doctor was off the stage. He returned with a table and a brass rod, and with the aid of these implements and a little brass box ascertained from "the spirits" that the name of the Emperor Frederick William had been chosen, and got a beautiful slate message from his departed majesty.

Next Dr. Richmond read the number of a bank-note held by one of the committee.

The Diss Debar writing-pad trick and spirit-picture trick were reproduced with equal success. Dr. Richmond said that a friend of his in Philadelphia would give \$5,000 to any medium who would induce the spirits, in a fair and open way, and in a manner genuine beyond a doubt, to manifest their presence by even a scratch an inch long on a slate.

Then he introduced Margaret Fox Kane, a little, compact woman, dark eyed and dark haired and dressed in black, and using eyeglasses with black cord and heavy black rims. Her sister Katy sat in a stage box and was a silent, attentive and assenting witness of what Margaret said and did.

Mrs. Kane was highly excited, and spoke in a tragic way. She made a solemn public renunciation of Spiritualism, declaration of its falsehood, and resolution to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God." This declaration was carefully written out, and Mrs. Kane delivered it in a fragmentary and mirth-provoking style, scanning a sentence by the aid of her eyeglasses, then turning to the audience and slowly repeating it.

After that she sat on a chair, with her feet on a sounding-board, so that the raps might be distinctly heard, and Dr. Richmond explained that the lady did the knocking with her big toe. A committee of physicians, among whom was Dr.

Dinsmore, examined her feet. She had slipped off a shoe to facilitate this scientific investigation, and putting the stocking foot on the board, the audience heard a series of raps, "rat-tat-tat-tat-tat," increasing in sound from faint to loud, and apparently traveling up the wall and along the roof of the Academy. Then she got down to the orchestra floor and repeated the experiment successfully there. Going back on the stage, she stood upright on the board, adjured the "kind, dear spirits," and there was a rain or rather a hailstorm of responsive knocks.

Of course there was a punster around to suggest that Spiritualism "is n't worth a rap any longer." The exposure was certainly thorough and successful, and Dr. Richmond received the congratulations of all his friends on the successful initiation of his anti-humbug crusade. — *New York Tribune, Monday, October 22.*

MISS WILLARD, by a vote of 360 to 31 scattering, is reelected president of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union. The great convention, which filled the ample spaces of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, October 19 to 23, was a most impressive spectacle. The auditorium seats 6,000 people, and was often full, except the almost inaccessible fourth gallery. We shall publish in our next number a series of strategic extracts from Miss Willard's remarkably comprehensive and timely annual address. In the variety of topics covered by it and the high importance of many of them, it reminds one of a presidential message to Congress. Forty departments of philanthropic work were reported from by the specialists in charge of them. There appeared to be a very general willingness to allow free debate hereafter on the vexed question of the political attitude of the National Union, although a by-law has for a single year caused all motions touching that vexed subject to be voted on without debate. This by-law was repealed; but the Union, by an overwhelming vote, in spite of the usual vigorous protest of Mrs. Foster and her friends, pledged its moral support to the Prohibition party. Miss Willard, by vote of the convention, was allowed to become a consulting member of the national executive committee of the Prohibition party, on its invitation. General Fisk, Neal Dow, and ex-Governor St. John were among those introduced to the convention. The more important of the resolutions passed are given below, and will repay careful study.

Resolved, 1. That Christ and his gospel as universal King and code should be sovereign in our government and political affairs, and that obedience to his law is the only path to political righteousness and peace.

2. That we reaffirm our belief that federal aid should be extended to the public schools in otherwise destitute portions of our country, to be disbursed on the basis of the illiteracy.

3. That we memorialize Congress, in its legislation regulating commerce, to prohibit the exportation of intoxicating liquors to Africa and other uncivilized countries, and that they coöperate with other nations in their efforts to save such helpless people from the traffic in firearms and strong drink.

4. That by the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, holding that original sealed packages of intoxicating liquors may be sent into prohibition States, it is made evident that all ultimately effective action for the suppression of

the liquor traffic must come through national legislation. We will therefore use all honorable effort for the promotion of the same.

5. *Whereas*, Through the system of internal revenue laws, this nation is held in close alliance and practical partnership with the liquor traffic, the logical effect of which is to hinder both the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory laws; and because we regard the taking of revenue from that which degrades the people a grievous sin, therefore

Resolved, That we again ask the repeal of the internal revenue upon alcohol, tobacco, and opium.

6. That the right of the citizen to vote should not be abridged or denied on account of sex; we, therefore, urge an amendment to the national constitution granting women the franchise.

7. That we deprecate the adverse decision in Washington Territory, by which women are once more disfranchised, and call upon the Supreme Court to vindicate once for all the validity of laws giving the ballot to woman for the protection of her home.

8. That we greatly rejoice in the unparalleled success of the Woman's Temperance Association, which has marked its work during the past year.

9. That the Temperance Hospital is worthy of our cordial assistance, and we greatly value this demonstration of the possibility of non-alcoholic medication.

10. That we will strongly coöperate with the World's Woman's Christian Union and National Council, of which our own president is the presiding officer, leaving the details of our relations to these great societies to be worked out by the executive committee.

11. *Whereas*, We have listened with painful interest to Dr. Kate C. Bushnell's account of atrocities perpetrated against womanhood in the dens of iniquity in Northern Wisconsin,

Resolved, That we hereby commend the thoroughness of the work and the Christian spirit in which it was done, believing it entirely worthy of credence, and we desire to refer this report to the Wisconsin W. C. T. U., commending them for their labors in the past and pledging our coöperation in future efforts for the better protection of women.

12. That we rejoice in the work of the World's W. C. T. U., and as in the past will heartily coöperate in all its plans. We send our tender greetings to our sister, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt, assuring her of our pride in her achievements. We are grateful to God and all good people who have helped her on her way.

13. That we hereby declare our conviction that there should be no barriers placed in the way of woman's ecclesiastical emancipation within the church of Christ, and that we earnestly thank those good and true men who so eloquently championed the cause of woman when our president and one of our national superintendents were denied seats as delegates to the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

14. That we reaffirm our allegiance to that party which makes its dominant issue the suppression of the liquor traffic, declares its belief in Almighty God as the source of all power in government, defends the sanctity of the Sabbath, recognizes equal suffrage and equal wages for women, demands the abolition of polygamy, and uniform laws governing marriage and divorce, and aims to remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our land.

15. That we extend to Mary Allen West, the able editor of "The Union Sig-

nal," our hearty thanks for the manner in which she has conducted our national organ, and that we hereby indorse the position she has taken in the exercise of editorial prerogatives on the political as well as any other questions which concern our organization, and in testimony of this we express our appreciation of her labors and our determination to stand by her in her difficult and trying position.

The Prohibition party resolution was warmly debated, and passed by a large vote.

A memorial from the Iowa State W. C. T. U., signed by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster as president, and Mrs. Mary J. Aldrich as secretary, was presented, protesting against the declaration in favor of the Prohibition party. The answer of the executive committee denying the request was adopted.

FIVE HUNDRED theological students from twenty-seven seminaries, representing a dozen different evangelical denominations, held a convention at Park Street Church, Boston, from Thursday morning to Sunday evening, October 23 to 28. It was a most significant and inspiring assembly. It was animated by the single purpose of increasing zeal among theological students for the cause of Christian missions both at home and abroad. It was the ninth and largest meeting of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance. Elaborate papers were read on the need of establishing Christian colleges in foreign fields; on the relation of commerce to missions; on the problem of evangelizing the foreign populations in our Western cities; and on the practicability of seminaries and colleges supporting their own missionaries. A plan outlined by Daniel E. Lorenz of Union Theological Seminary, the essayist on the last of these topics, has received the indorsement of many prominent divines, and nearly all the missionary boards, and was formally commended by the convention. A large number of colleges were quoted as ready to coöperate in it. President Warren of Boston University welcomed the convention in a speech of great power and felicity. Rev. Dr. Herrick Johnson of Chicago delivered a formal discourse on "The Motives to Missions." A portion of this eloquent and searching address we give elsewhere in full, as its criticism of the so-called New Theology and the emphatic approval of the audience are noteworthy events. Among missionaries who addressed the convention were Rev. William Butler, D. D., and Rev. Dennis Osborne, from India; Dr. D. C. Greene, from Japan; Dr. William Ashmore, from China; Rev. W. G. Puddefoot, for home missions. Addresses were made by Rev. W. G. Griffis, Dr. A. J. Gordon, Dr. Phillips Brooks, Joseph Cook, Dr. N. G. Clark, and others. After the closing meeting on Sunday night in Park Street Church two or three hundred delegates, when the great audience had been dismissed, joined hands around the wide space of the auditorium and sang together: "Blest be the tie that binds." Our conviction is that the best materials for religious prophecy are to be found in the unforced opinions and enthusiasms of educated young men not from one school or province, but from the whole broad field of a nation such as this convention represented.

PROFESSOR HERRICK JOHNSON's eloquent, inspiring, and massive address before the five hundred delegates to the Inter-Seminary Convention and the crowded audience in Park Street Church, Boston, Friday evening, October 26, contained the following reference to the so-called New Theology. The passage was received by the great congregation with a sudden, emphatic, and prolonged outburst of approval, which seemed to annoy the speaker himself, it was so very unusual in so staid and quiet an assembly at such a place and hour, but it constituted a noteworthy sign of the times.

Who can think the guilt of the heathen a trifle in the light of that fearful description of their state in the first chapters of Romans: "These having no law, are a law unto themselves; in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith?" God's everlasting power and divinity since the creation of the world are clearly seen through the things that are made, that they may be "without excuse." This is inspiration's solemn teaching. It is written by the infallible finger of the Almighty. Who shall gain-say it? Who shall make apologies for the heathen and palliate their guilt and dream of some uncovenanted mercy for them, when from the Divine heart of mercy there come these solemn words, — "without excuse."

Who can count the sin of the heathen and their condemnation trifles in the light of Calvary? It was such sin and condemnation — the sin of men against natural divine light, and of a race without God and under the doom of death thus sealed, that led to the atonement by Jesus Christ. The rejection of Jesus, the trampling under foot the blood of the Son of God only heightens the loss. It does not originate it. Calvary did not make hell. Hell led to Calvary. If men must reject Jesus before a theocracy can be constructed that will justify God in the death of the sinner, then either salvation by the Cross is of debt and not of grace, or there was nothing very serious to be saved from before the Cross was lifted. With either alternative the gospel is honeycombed with falsehood.

But the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost already. The loss was there, deep, wide, eternal. To make redemption a necessity in order to justify perdition is putting effect for cause, is making antecedent wait on consequent, is having Christ die for men that God may be just in damning men.

Make light, therefore, of the guilt of the heathen, palliate it, excuse it, insist in the nomenclature of a new theology that they can have a fair chance only through a distinct offer and a possible acceptance or rejection of Jesus Christ, and you either whittle down the atonement to the dimensions of an ordinary martyrdom, or stamp it as a waste of value, a useless tragedy: you empty it of God or make it a butchery! [Loud applause.] No! You cannot justify the anguish of Gethsemane and Calvary, nor account for the joy that sets a distant world of angelic beings vibrating with the pulsing tides of joy every time a heathen repents, nor vindicate the terrific retributive imagery of Scripture, except as you allow the sin and death of the natural man a vast significance.

DR. JOSEPH PARKER of London, preaching recently on the Unitarian novel "Robert Elsmere," used this language, which seems to us eminently just and wise: —

The book is not equally strong throughout. Grey is strong, Elsmere himself is strong and beautiful, the Squire is penetrating, sagacious, strong enough by all

odds in his iconoclasm and cynicism and bitterness and destructiveness of soul. I do not want to die like Squire Wendover ; he may have had a wonderful mind, and he may have been a wonderful genius, but I cannot say, Let me live the life of Wendover and die his death. I value something more highly than I value cleverness, intelligence, yea, than the most brilliant intellect, and that I do not find in the heir of Murewell. But we are face to face with an invention, and here we have all kinds of men put at their very strongest, in their best aspects, and Christ is left to poor Catherine Leyburn, wife of Robert Elsmere, — narrow, conscientious, self-sacrificing ; a grand woman of the Puritanic type ; and we are not ashamed of her within the four corners which properly belong to that kind of character, but when she is put forward as who should say, This is Christ, this is Christianity, this is the incarnate Gospel, — we say, No, it is not ; you are wrong in your facts ; your history has not even yet become a science. We love the earnestness, the passion, the fervor, the benevolence, aye, and the stern Puritanism of Catherine Elsmere, but she does not adequately represent even the invented Christ. That is my criticism upon the whole thing. I do not criticise its minor characters, its asides, its beautiful parenthetical play, its dramatic action and color ; no, I simply discharge one criticism upon the book, and that is that the Christ of that book is not the Christ of the Gospels, is not Christ as He represented Himself to be according to the reports we have of his life ; and, therefore, all the criticisms founded upon this pseudo-Christ are nothing, and less than nothing, when leveled as arguments against the great Christian thought.

THE Rev. Dr. David Gregg, pastor of Park Street Church, Boston, in a discourse on "Public Schools *versus* Parochial Schools," delivered before the Boston Evangelical Alliance, September 10, has this powerful passage on the educational principles of Roman Catholicism : —

It is the present duty of American patriots to recognize the existence of the enemy of our common schools and to look up its record and the policy which it is working out. It is a bold charge to bring against Romanism that it is anti-American, root and branch. But the charge is one that is justified by documents which come to us from the Vatican itself. The Roman pontiff is responsible for the charge. In his encyclical, which is a document that speaks *ex cathedra*, he denounces every fundamental principle of our republic, and calls them all heresies. Liberty of the press and liberty of speech, these are American principles ; but in his encyclical the Roman See writes : "I anathematize all who maintain the liberty of the press and all advocates of the liberty of speech, which is the liberty of perdition." Free schools, independent of all church interference, are American ideas, corner-stones of the republic. The American institution puts the key of knowledge into the hands of the people. In this encyclical the Roman See declares, Article 45 : "The Romish church has a right to interfere in the discipline of public schools, and in the arrangement of the studies of public schools, and in the choice of the teachers of these schools." And again in Article 47 : "Public schools open to all children, for the education of the young, should be under the control of the Romish church, and should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age." Liberty of conscience is another fundamental principle of the republic's creed and life. In his encyclical the Roman See writes : "The absurd and erroneous doctrines, or ravings, in defense of liberty of conscience, are a most pestilential error, a pest of all others most to be

dreaded in the state." "I anathematize those who assert the liberty of conscience and of religious worship and all such as maintain that the church may not employ force." This creed of the pontiff is put before every priest and bishop for subscription, and they accept it and swear allegiance to the pontiff. The cardinal swears that he will seek to restore the temporal power of the pope. One sentence in his oath is, "I will seek out and oppose and persecute and fight heretics and schismatics against our Lord the Pope." My fellow-countrymen, the American republic and the Romish system stand for and incorporate antipodal and antagonistic principles and purposes, and this according to the authoritative *ex cathedra* declaration of Rome itself. My Roman Catholic friend, you say you are as good an American as I am and as loyal to American institutions as they are, as I am. If so, then you are not a good Romanist. If you claim to be a good American and a good Romanist in one, then there is a question of veracity between you and the pontiff. The pontiff has the better of you. The pontiff is supreme; he is infallible; you are not.

AN important letter of the heroic and lamented General Gordon defending his scheme for a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea by the way of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, has been published in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of July, 1888 :—

If we get a Firman from the Sultan for the Palestine Canal—

1. We lose the sacred sites of Jordan River, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Tiberias. Jericho, not Engedi.
2. We swamp a notoriously unhealthy valley where there are no missions.
3. We cut off the pest of the country of Palestine, the Bedouins.
4. We free ourselves from the chief necessity for a reoccupation of Egypt.
5. We gain the fertile lands of Moab and Ammon.
6. Cyprus is 150 miles from the Mediterranean *debouché*.
7. We get a water-way for large ships to within 50 miles of Damascus.
8. We can never be bothered by any internal commotion, except for 25 miles from Haifa to Tiberias, for the water-way of the canal would be 10 miles wide except in Arabah Valley, where there are on both sides wastes and deserts.
9. We get rid of the unhealthiness of a narrow cut with no current, which is the case with the Suez Canal now, where the mud is pestilential from ships' refuse and no current.
10. It would isolate Palestine; it would pave the way to its being like Belgium under no Great Power, for religious views would be against Palestine ever being owned by a Great Power.
11. Up the ladder of Tyre to Gaza would be 10,000 square miles; population 180,000; quite a small country.

Do not quote me if you write this. Oddly enough, Ezekiel xlvii. 10, seems to say the Dead Sea shall have fish like the Great Sea (i. e., Mediterranean). Zechariah xiv. speaks of two rivers, one going to Dead Sea, the other to Mediterranean.

The cost would be—

Canal from Haifa to Jordan	£2,000,000
Compensation to Jordan peoples	1,000,000
Canal through Arabah	6,000,000
Ports at Haifa	1,000,000
Ports at Akabah	500,000
	£10,500,000

Say 12 to 15 millions, and what a comfort to be free of Egypt and Soudan for ever!

Revenue, Palestine £120,000, of which £80,000 goes to Sultan. Do not quote me, for I have written part of this to Mr. W. Mackinnon, of B. I. S. N. C., besides which H. M. Government may object.

C. G. GORDON.

FIVE MILLION signatures to a petition to Congress for laws promoting a better observance of Sunday have now been obtained. The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union Convention have voted to make the advancement of this petition a special and urgent work. The most influential indorsement which the petition against Sunday work in the mail and military service and in interstate commerce has yet received was given unanimously and enthusiastically on October 18, at Richmond, Va., by the International Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, after two hours' thorough consideration of the subject, under the lead of the editor of our department of Church Work. Let all labor organizations, large and small, and all churches do likewise speedily, and the desired law will not be long in coming. Churches and labor unions combined are politically irresistible.

THE REFORMS in the New York post-office, shown to be necessary by investigations of the editor of our department of Church Work, have been secured, with a trifling exception, which is likely to be remedied later. The carriers, before the eight-hour law was enacted, had alternate evenings for themselves. After the law went into effect, a large proportion of them had no evenings at all, except in their fourteen days vacation, and later had only the evenings of two weeks out of six. All the carriers now have their evenings for four weeks out of six, with no loss to the service, — a triumph of humane labor agitation. One of the three carriers on each route, who makes evening delivery, is allowed an hour and a quarter more time for rest in the mornings. In the first application of the law many of the carriers were scheduled to do in eight hours what they could not actually do in less than nine hours and a half. The work is now adjusted so that it can be done in eight hours, on the average. Needless collections, to keep men busy without advantage to the service, have been stopped. Carriers are no longer required to do clerical work. Other reforms are expected.

THE PUNDITA RAMABAI is about to return to India with \$50,000 for the support of her proposed school for Hindoo widows. This sum has been raised chiefly in the Pacific States.

THE SUBLIME PORTE has granted permission for the building of a railway between Jaffa and Jerusalem.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. I. — DECEMBER, 1888. — No. 12.

A SYMPOSIUM ON INSPIRATION.

(Continued from June Number.)

IN WHAT SENSE AND WHY DO YOU BELIEVE THE BIBLE
TO BE THE WORD OF GOD?

XIII.

1. I BELIEVE the Bible to be the Word of God because, at the first, my father and mother taught me that it is, and trained me in that belief.

2. Because, as I grew up, I found that whatever was good, true, and just in those about me was to be traced to that Book, and that the welfare of society appeared to proceed from it.

3. Because I found in it what answered to the best intuitions of my mind, met all my conceptions of what is morally right and spiritually holy, satisfying both my affections and my aspirations ; and it does so still.

4. Because I have found at every step that in every temptation to evil, or conflict with it, the Bible was on the side of good ; at the same time enlightening me as to what good and evil are.

5. Because the Bible, coming to man as a message from the Father to his child, expresses the mind, will, and character of a personal being, absolute and eternal, and unchangeable in all perfections.

6. Because the more I study the history of the world the plainer it is made to me that what this Book declares of God

and his providence explains and interprets that history, and that without it Christendom and its civilization could not have been, including its order, liberties, industries, and education.

7. Because the Bible and the visible kingdom of God, set up on the earth by Jesus Christ, agree together, the church witnessing to the Scriptures, and the Scriptures instructing and directing the church in worship, doctrine, and practice.

8. Because, on all reasonable grounds of evidence, and by all the accepted methods and principles by which we get a knowledge of the past, the facts recorded and affirmed as such in the Bible are substantially and sufficiently authenticated and established.

9. Because the utmost strength and skill of learning, argument, and ingenuity, expended from the beginning to this day, in efforts to disprove the facts and discredit the record, have so failed that both the external and internal evidences are clearer and firmer at this time than ever before since the apostolic age, the contents of four epistles of St. Paul, which hostile modern criticism allows to be indisputably genuine, certifying to the narrative of the Evangelists with its superhuman element and Divine authority.

10. Because the marvelous history of the Scriptures themselves, in manuscript and print, and of their effects, places them above the plane and power of human compositions.

11. Because the Book as we have it, containing no literary or other error affecting in the least the spiritual life of man, shows itself to be an inspired and doubtless an everlasting gospel of his salvation, suited to all his spiritual needs, and the only assurance of his immortality.

12. Because the more I study the Bible, and seek to order my life by it, the stronger these convictions respecting it become.

F. D. HUNTINGTON.

XIV.

The question which you do me the honor to ask is twofold :

I. *In what sense do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?* In the sense that it is an authoritative message from Him, expressed by the messengers in their own language — God's word in men's words.

II. *Why do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?* Because it contains truth concerning such subjects, and stated under such conditions that it could have been known by men only "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

But how do I know the Bible to be true? The most convincing proof is one of which the unbeliever can know nothing — an experience of the power of the Bible to satisfy man's deepest spiritual needs. Arthur Hallam said, "I know that this is God's book because it is man's book; because it fits into every turn and fold of the human heart."

But there are other proofs sufficient to satisfy the honest inquirer. Since truth and falsehood are radically different, it is possible to mistake the one for the other only when adequate tests are not applied. A coin supposed to be gold may be tested by its appearance, its ring, its weight, and by the application of nitric acid. The greater the number of tests applicable the more certain is the exposure of falsehood, if the tests are applied. Now the Bible offers itself to a multitude of tests of such searching character that the application of any one of them would discredit all pretense of Divine origin by exposing falsehood, if it existed. How certainly then would the application of all make that exposure so complete and overwhelming as to convince every intelligent and candid mind?

The Bible offers itself to the tests of several natural sciences, to those of history and archæology, to that of prophecy, of self-consistency, of adaptation to man, and many others.

However men may differ concerning the origin and authority of the Bible, all will agree that these tests have been applied with the utmost vigor and all the skill that learning could command, and that, notwithstanding, there are many millions whose confidence in the truth of the Bible and its claims is unshaken. The fact that there are those who do not think the Bible sustains these tests does not invalidate the argument, because the application of tests, such in character and number, ought, as we have seen, to expose falsehood with absolute certainty so as to *convince every intelligent and candid mind*. The unpalatable teachings of the Bible serve to bias men against it, and account for its rejection without implying any lack of evidence.

There are difficulties involved either in the acceptance of the Scriptures as true, or in their rejection; but to my mind vastly more in the latter than in the former.

He who rejects what he ought to believe will have to believe many things which he ought to reject. If a man rejects the Bible as God's truth, he must believe either that an *unaided* man could write the truth concerning the origin of the earth and its inhabitants thousands of years before the birth of modern science, or that science is unable to make clear to millions of educated men the difference between truth and falsehood; he must believe either that unaided men can write true and minute prophecies concerning the remote future, or that false prophecies cannot be conclusively disproved by facts. That is, he must believe either that unaided men can possess miraculous knowledge, or that truth and falsehood are not essentially different.

He who refuses to accept the Bible as God's word must believe that the literature of a people covering a period of fifteen hundred years, when bound between the same covers could *happen* to make one book, revealing a scheme as clearly defined and as carefully wrought out as the plot of any story; he must believe that unaided human wisdom is equal to the production of a religion adapted alike to sage and savage, prince and peasant, to all races, classes, conditions, and generations of men; he must believe that falsehood can savingly transform character and regenerate society.

All these and many other absurdities he is forced to accept, if he rejects the Bible as God's word. I confess I am not sufficiently credulous to be a skeptic.

JOSIAH STRONG.

XV.

I believe most thoroughly that the Bible is the Word of God, and in so saying I do not mean that the Bible contains God's words, has records and teachings, which either originated from God or were sanctioned by Him, and are therefore indisputably and divinely true; but I mean this, that the Bible from Genesis to Revelation was written in every part by men so supernaturally taught, directed, and controlled by the Holy Spirit, that

their testimony, whether as to events of history, or doctrines of faith, is to be received as the infallible testimony of God Himself.

I believe this, because the Bible claims to have been so originated, and to possess such authority. Its unvarying witness as to the Old Testament is that "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God;" that "God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began;" that Jesus Christ cited and expounded "Moses and the Prophets," "the law, the Prophets, and the Psalms" as possessing authority as Divine and infallible as his own teachings. While as respects the New Testament, the Evangelists and apostles claimed the same Divine origin and authority for their testimony, and this claim was from the first accepted by the church under the supernatural direction of the Holy Spirit, and his indorsement was set thereto making the whole book one, as the divinely inspired and infallibly authoritative word of God.

And in confirmation of such a claim, it may be added: wherever this book is received and its teachings obeyed, there invariably follow those transformations of character, those fruits of the Spirit in the hearts and lives of men, which no other book does or can produce, and which stamp this as the Book of books, the blessed Word of Life.

E. P. GOODWIN.

XVI.

The best short answers I can give are perhaps the following:

1. I believe the Bible to be the Word of God in the same sense in which I believe the church to be the Body of Christ.

2. Why? Fundamentally, because of all the reasons in view of which I believe the church to be the Body of Christ. More particularly, because of reasons analogous to those in view of which I believe the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the statutes, and treaties of the United States to be the Word of the American People.

WILLIAM F. WARREN.

XVII.

The Bible, in my view, is the Word of God in this sense, that it is God's method of communicating to man in a written form, "what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." For this purpose he has selected the wisest and most effective method as related to the needs of men of all ages.

Having abundant and satisfactory evidence, as we have, of the genuineness, authenticity, and Divine authority of the several books contained in the Scriptures, and of the volume as a whole, we are permitted to receive it in the simplest way, as though it were directly placed in our hands by God himself. The manner in which the Old Testament Scriptures are referred to by our Lord, in connection with the special promises He gave his apostles, with the claims the writers themselves make, in connection also with the wonderful unity of the entire book from Genesis to the Apocalypse, present to us such clear evidences of the inspiration both of the writers and of the book that it is our privilege to receive it as a whole, and in all its parts as immediately from God — every man's own book which "finds him" where he is, and is able to make him "wise unto salvation." To this substantial conclusion I believe the most thorough scholarship after the most critical examination, as well as a profound spiritual life, will yet lead the entire Christian world.

E. K. ALDEN.

XVIII.

To me the Bible is the Word of God in the sense that it is God's representation to me of such relations between himself and myself as are necessary to be known in this world, for spiritual and ethical purposes. It is a revelation of such knowledge in these departments as could not be obtained by any human effort. It includes much that mankind perhaps might discover in a long experience by cultivated powers skillfully and industriously employed. And it contains much beyond, much that could never have been ascertained if God had not revealed it. It is this which renders it the Word of God to me.

The question *why* I believe the Bible to be the Word of God is personal, and calls for no argument in the "Evidences" which I should here present to any other man's intellect, further than personal testimony is necessarily some argument.

Personally, then, my persuasion is that, if there be a God, the moral probability that He would make all needful revelation to mankind is overwhelming. I find that what can be discovered by man's unaided reason, in regard to spiritual salvation and duty, is at best so little that both individual men and communities could have no satisfactory existence and no hopeful outlook and make almost no progress if that were all that we could obtain. The Bible includes all that and supplements it with an exhibition of the character and will and ways of God, consistent therewith, but abundantly ampler. Its representation of my own nature is to my consciousness so accurate, so complete, so profound, so far beyond anything and everything I find in all human literature to which I have access, that it wins my entire confidence to its representations of God. It is the production of some one who knows me more thoroughly than I know any other man or any other man could know me. The book, or something behind the book, knows me and addresses me as some one's child, as my consciousness assures me that I am, and then introduces me to One as its Author and my Father, and my responsive consciousness reads the book as the production of my Father's mind and heart. It seems to know God as it knows me. A book that does this for me is, *for me*, the Word of God.

However it may be with other men, to me it is a paramount question how I can be saved. By that I mean how my personality can be so preserved as to its integrity that no destructive agency can destroy it, or impair its powers or impede its progress; and how it can be stimulated and helped in its efforts towards reaching its completest perfection, both in itself and in harmonizing itself with all its relations.

God must want me saved. My reason and my heart reject any supposition adverse to that. My Father must somehow, somewhere, have made provision for my salvation, and have furnished the requisite information how to secure that provision. No other book, indeed, no other thing, performs that service for

me. The Bible does. In so far forth as I have obeyed it as the voice of God, it has fulfilled its own promises and met all my wants. Experimental science in physics is the science regarded as trustworthy. So I regard experimental religion as worth more than any other thing called religion. Now, I have experimented with the religion of the Bible; I have experienced it, in some measure: and so far as my experience has gone that religion is saving. That religion I find only in the Bible. Therefore I accept and reverence the Bible as the Word of God: and I do so on grounds surer than any that can be laid in my logical understanding, namely, those laid in my own consciousness.

CHARLES F. DEEMS.

XIX.

I believe the Bible to be the Word of God not only as containing but as being the revelation of his will to man. It having been given in human language, and much of it in relation to current and local affairs, it of necessity bears certain marks of human limitation and imperfection but not so as to invalidate the Divine authority of a single truth.

I believe the Bible to be from God because it presents sin, and salvation from sin, and the character and government of God, in a manner to prove it all Divine.

It is sustained by miracle and prophecy and the history of the church through all the ages.

It comes to my own soul with authority and power which I cannot resist.

Jesus of Nazareth is in it from Genesis to Revelation, and He was declared to be the Son of God with power *by the resurrection from the dead.*

. CYRUS HAMLIN.

XX.

In what sense and why do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?

I believe the Bible to be the Word of God in this sense: that the Holy Spirit originally designed the Bible; that He superintended to such extent those who wrote and compiled it that

nothing in historic, devotional, or doctrinal matters has been omitted from it, which the Holy Spirit did not design should be omitted, and that nothing has been inserted in it which the Holy Spirit did not design should be inserted.

My first reason for believing that the Bible in the foregoing sense is the Word of God is that its prophecies and its other equally remarkable revelations, being in many instances far beyond mortal ken, require a supernatural origin.

My second reason is that the Bible is one book. As usually reckoned, thirty different men, few of them being contemporary, living in places far removed from one another, in Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Babylon, wrote the Old Testament. The labors of these men, beginning 1500 B. C., extended through a period of eleven centuries.

Eight men while living or traveling in different parts of the Roman Empire, and having only slight association together, wrote the New Testament, being occupied in the work about sixty years.

And yet these different writers in these different ages and in these different countries have produced a book all of whose great lines of thought converge at one point. We mean this. Christ is the interpretation of the Old Testament rites and ceremonies. He is the one to whom at least three hundred predictions of the Old Testament steadily point. And He is the centre and glory of New Testament history and doctrine. And the crimson thread, the vicarious atonement of Christ, runs through the whole Bible, being easily traceable in every section of it and in nearly every one of its chapters. I infer, therefore, a superintending genius. Can one infer otherwise? Suppose, for illustration, that forty men, working in different quarries, and at different eras of the world's history, their work extending through sixteen centuries, should cut out stone in various shapes and sizes, and that those stones should be builded into a symmetrical temple all of whose parts were harmonious, would not one be compelled to say that there had been a ruling architect, and that his genius had planned the temple and inspired the different workmen?

My third reason for believing that the Bible is the Word

of God is that to the devout and attentive soul it is full of vitality.

The word is "quick;" it "liveth and abideth forever." If one will listen reverently one will hear in it a living and a supernatural voice; a voice that reaches the masses and all classes as does the voice of no other book in all the world's literature

L. T. TOWNSEND.

XXI.

We believe the Bible is of Divine origin, and states absolute truth in all that it really affirms. This character was secured through the power of the Holy Spirit exerted on the writers of its various books. The Scriptures affirm positively the doctrine of inspiration. Our Lord affirms the Divine authority of the Old Testament, and the writers of the New Testament insist upon the infallibility of their statements. The proofs of inspiration are involved in the evidences of the truth of Christianity, in the truth of supernatural manifestations to man, in the history of the Bible, in its power, its teachings, and in the experimental proof of its truth, which all can test. Inspiration is an unfortunate word. Its ambiguity has caused much error and misunderstanding relative to the truth. A high degree of mental elevation, caused by natural influences, such as is manifested by poets and orators and men of genius, is often termed inspiration; but this has nothing Divine in its character. The inspiration of the Scriptures means that an extraordinary agency pervaded the minds of men selected by God, that they proclaimed his truth orally or in writing, according to his will. That God can communicate truth to man cannot be denied. The process by which minds converse with each other is unknown to us. We know only the fact of such intercourse. Divine truth, doubtless, by means not recognized by consciousness, was communicated to men, yet so given that they who received it knew they spake by Divine authority, and so affirmed. We do not believe the theory of inspiration that affirms that the sacred writers, under Divine impulse, resigned all their powers to God, who guided them entirely, so that the

writer had no more independent power than the pen used in writing. "This theory of inspiration involves the immediate communication to the writers, of every word, syllable, and letter, of what they wrote, independently of their intelligent agency, and without regard to their peculiar mental faculties or habits."

It is doubtless true that certain portions of the Bible are simply revelations. Some truths from their supernatural character, or the circumstances of the writers, could only be communicated by language dictated by the Holy Spirit. On the Day of Pentecost, when the apostles spake with tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance, the direct dictation of the very words uttered was absolutely necessary. The same would be true when the subject revealed transcended human powers, as in the statements of some of the doctrines of Christianity, and in certain prophetic announcements. According to what we regard as the true theory of inspiration, Divine power and human were united. God is the source of the truth, but human agency is the condition under which revelation was made known. All the different faculties of the inspired man, his senses, sensibilities, intellectual and moral powers, were engaged in the act of communicating truth; but the writer acted naturally, wrote in his own style, made manifest his personal and peculiar characteristics, yet he was so guided by Divine power that he stated the truth without error. The human and Divine powers were, in his work, harmonious and inseparable. This theory accounts for the variety in diction and style, so apparent in different portions of the Scriptures.

As our present copies of the Scriptures are not inspired, and it cannot be claimed they are absolutely perfect, some may ask whether the Bible, as we have it, conforms to the original and inspired Scriptures. It may be clearly shown that the original Scriptures have been transmitted to us with wonderful accuracy, and that the Bible, in all important respects, is the Bible given by inspiration and Divine authority.

It is said that the Bible contains erroneous statements relative to science; but in answer it may be stated that it is now conceded by the best Biblical critics, that in the Scriptural language relative to matters of science, the apparent rather than the real

is used. The writer used the theory relative to material things received at the time, and not the correct theory, as subsequently discovered. It does not appear, indeed, that any other course could be adopted. The Bible was not designed to teach science. It was designed for all ages and all people, and must present truth so as to be understood by them.

Relative to the Divine authority of the Scriptures, as in all matters of religious truth, God has not absolutely compelled belief. Men relative to this, as in other respects, are on trial as to belief; and blinded by evil influences and sinful conduct, may reject the truth; but whoever will candidly and honestly read the Bible, and follow its directions, will have the evidence in himself that it is divinely inspired. Much of it he will not understand, and he will fall into errors relative to its teachings, as has been true in all ages; yet he will know the truth necessary to his guidance and his salvation.

JOSEPH CUMMINGS.

XXII.

In what sense is the Bible the Word of God?

In the sense that it originated, was developed and perfected under the suggestion and superintendence of the Divine Mind, and contains an authoritative expression of God's will to man.

Why is the Bible to be accepted as the Word of God?

1. *An objective argument.* Its wonderful unity, which, from beginning to end, appears in its nature and structure, is inexplicable on any other basis.

Composed of sixty-six books, by more than thirty penmen, exceedingly varied in culture, amid vast diversity of circumstances and types of ideas, its substantial agreement in theology and spirit, and its unique redemptive plan, harmoniously developed through progressive, fragmentary stages, are too remarkable to be accounted as of human invention, or as the product of accidental revelation. To suppose that so many authors, of such diverse qualifications, writing independently of each other, often separated by centuries, some in a period of national prosperity and glowing anticipation, others in times of national desolation and captivity, and others after the utter overthrow of

the Jewish nation, could have written in such common ethical and spiritual unity, following their own unaided thought, enhances the difficulties of the problem, while it is easily solved on the basis of one ever-present Person, speaking in the same individuality, mood, and purpose — the Eternal One.

Consider the two great unifying personages of the Bible. Confessedly Moses and Christ are so intimately united in the vertebral system of the Book, that the entire organism depends upon them. A wonderfully acute, unbiased, outside witness, Keshub Chunder Sen, says, — “Unscientific men may attempt to dissociate the two, but true science connects Moses and Jesus in logical sequence. . . . Logic looks upon Christ as the inevitable logical sequence of Moses. I see Christ in Moses. . . . Moses is the prefiguration of Jesus. Jesus is Moses perfected. . . . These two form one integral gospel, and are indissolubly connected. Can you separate Jesus from Moses? You cannot. Come then, Moses and Christ. Hail Moses — Christ, unity in duality. In blessed union, forever knit together, who shall disunite you?”

We must, therefore, consider the Bible as One Book, so divinely one in its structure, so integral in its purpose and spirit, that if dismembered it is destroyed. Thoughtful men have ever hesitated to attempt to detach any, even the seemingly loosely constructed portions of the canonical mass, lest the whole should in some way be impaired. Its unity is a Divine unity.

2. *A subjective argument.* The point of the argument is that the Bible satisfies the spiritual needs of the human soul.

In an argument like this we must begin by accepting some premises which have been sufficiently proved in other preliminary discussions. Therefore, we say, —

- Given, — 1. The existence of a Personal God ;
2. That He is the Creator of the universe and its inhabitants ;
3. That an infinite, intelligent Creator must have some will or purpose concerning his creatures ;
4. That the highest felicity of his creatures must be realized by living in harmony with God's will ;
5. That man, by his unaided powers, could not discover the will of God.

From the foregoing premises, we infer, *a priori*, the probability of a Divine Revelation.

We are now ready for the second series of propositions, which will be quite generally accepted, namely, —

1. That man possesses a religious nature ;
2. That the human soul has its demands ;
3. That it can never rest satisfied unless these necessities are supplied ;
4. That according to the analogies of the Universe, the existence of a demand implies a supply somewhere provided ;
5. That only He who is the Author of the human soul could understand its needs and furnish a satisfying supply ;
6. That a book which will satisfy the soul's most vital spiritual needs can justly claim to be Divine Revelation.
7. If, therefore, it can be shown that the Bible, *par excellence* among all books, meets this demand, it must be inferred that the author of the human soul and the author of the Bible, or the God of Nature and the God of Revelation, are the same Eternal God.

Does the Bible meet these demands ?

1. We have the voluminous testimony of Christian believers of the highest rank, intelligence, and character, in all ages, presented in the most discriminating and well attested forms — persons whose testimonies are accepted in regard to any matter about which they make affirmation. We can only refer to Christian literature, especially Christian biography, without citing the details.

2. We have also the testimonies of men *outside of the usually accepted Christian beliefs* — which they give in their better moods, as the result of their observation in regard to what the Bible does for the human soul.

Thomas Carlyle said, "In the poorest cottages are books ; is one Book, wherein for several thousands of years, the spirit of man has found light and nourishment, and an interpreting response to whatever is deepest in him."

Matthew Arnold said, "To the Bible men will return because they cannot do without it ; because happiness is a being's end and aim, and happiness belongs to righteousness, and righte-

ousness is revealed in the Bible. For this simple reason men will return to the Bible, just as a man who has tried to give up food, thinking it was a vain thing and that he would do without it, would return to food; or a man who tried to give up sleep, thinking it was a vain thing and he could do without it, would return to sleep."

Prof. Huxley says, "I have always been strongly in favor of secular education, in the sense of education without theology; but I must confess I have been no less seriously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up, in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion in these matters, without the use of the Bible."

Mr. Leckey ("History of European Morals," i. p. 418) thus accounts for the triumph of Christianity in the old Roman world: "The chief cause of its success was *the congruity of its teachings with the spiritual nature of mankind*. It was because it was true to the moral sentiments of the age, because it represented faithfully *the supreme type of excellence* to which men were then tending; because it *corresponded with their religious wants, aims, and emotions*, because *the whole spiritual being could expand and expatiate under its influence*, that it planted its roots so deeply in the hearts of men."

Such are the acknowledgments of even unbelievers.

A book that does such glorious things for humanity, can never be superseded or outgrown, but will always be in demand. Whatever of criticism or opposition it may encounter, it will live and triumph forever, for it meets the most vital spiritual needs of the race.

DANIEL DORCHESTER.

THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING RACES.

BY THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

IN the freshness of the early morning, one who views it can hardly help considering a little what will be the character of the coming day. Even so it is the destiny, not to say the duty and the delight, of youth, at least in select cases, to forecast, vaguely perhaps, but fondly, the experiences of the developed life which is to follow. Nor is it long before, in the shape of political sympathies or otherwise, the scope of youthful views is so enlarged as to include the future of the community together with that of the individual.

If we are here to distinguish among the races which people the world, it is within the limits of what is conventionally termed the Anglo-Saxon race, that this widened outlook ought to be most familiar. For it is preëminently the Anglo-Saxon race, for which the future promises in many things to rival or outstrip the past.

And if, again, we are to distinguish among the several communities comprised within the large circuit of this race, it is in the United States of America that the young mind should be most willing and most apt thus to ask questions of the unfolding years. For this is the community which, most rapidly of all communities that have been known to historic times (if I may borrow a metaphor from boyhood), outgrows its clothes.

Here are summed up, on the largest scale, and in the most salient forms, the characteristics of the New World. Here is most fully and fairly delivered the challenge of the New World to the Old World. The Old World, which changes slowly, is challenged and put upon its trial by the New, which opens fast, as nature opens in a Russian spring; and which, in throwing down the glove, thinks something of what it is, but more of what it is to be.

The age, no less than the lineage and the region, tempts and almost compels us, both in and beyond America, to peer into the future. For surely the hand of the Almighty has written upon the walls of our habitation letters of invitation and of promise not less visible than that terrible handwriting of doom which once affrighted the eyes of Belshazzar, nor so much demanding the aid of a skilled interpreter.

If the world and the human race are governed by Design, then there are abundant marks that this our time, and the times consecutive upon it, have been and are allotted to a special and large unfolding of that Design, with all the powers and interests, the duties and responsibilities it involves. Of these marks I will pointedly mention only four, and will mention them within the compass of lines scarcely more numerous.

First, the enormous increase of material power, available for all the exterior uses of life: so that it has long since been computed that in Great Britain alone the force of machinery was equal (as it must now be more than equal) to the corporal power of the whole human race.

Secondly, the augmented means and accelerated speed of communication in its various forms.

Thirdly, the vast increase, and more solid basis, of the knowledge of nature, in almost every province of her mighty realm.

Fourthly, that enlargement of the times of peace, and contraction of the times of war, throughout the civilized world, which has during the present century appeared, notwithstanding some very sinister accompaniments, to be gradually hardening into a normal fact of the modern life, and greatly to enlarge the industrial capacity and career of man.

If I have chosen to put forward four particulars which relate principally to the growth of material energies and results, it is because, as will be seen, the basis of these remarks lies in material extension, and not because there is any lack, at the present time, of moral or mental agencies in active play. It would have been easy to point to the power, or rather the diverse powers, of the Press: the power of Association: the power of the missionary: the extension of government by representation: the raised status of women: the growth of international law, which is a voice of civilized man at large, and which goes to control the action of each particular state by the settled judgment of the whole. But I resume the thread of my observations.

All things disclose a purpose. That purpose lies in the future. And in that future America has a concern, measurable on a scale certainly colossal, and, as compared with the magnitude disclosed to us by former experience, almost superhuman. But we too, the British Isles, the mother of the United States in the natural order, and their sister in our great Dependencies, have a share perhaps more limited, but perhaps also more diversified, in the vast common inheritance, and in this new chapter of human destiny.

It is to the race, or to races, associated by an historic tie of kindred, that I would now draw attention. As to their local extension, we have it already pretty well defined. For the conformation of the earth, combined with its climatic conditions, appears hardly to leave room for the supposition that these races can hereafter so enlarge the share of its surface they have already appropriated, as vitally to affect the elements of the problem. This, however, is not an affair of acres, or square miles, but of souls, and here we at once touch the threshold of a question of the deepest interest. That is, the present and prospective multiplication of what I shall term the English-speaking races, especially as compared with the other races of the civilized world.

Increase of population, though in various degrees, and likely to depend considerably in Europe on the continuance of peace, is at this time a settled fact throughout the races of the Old World. Great Britain is conspicuous in this feature; and it has been a main element in the discharge of her great

colonizing office, to which is due the existence over sea of the great family of English-speaking races.

But here we encounter a very remarkable fact. The German and Scandinavian nations, conspicuous, together with the British, in this tendency to multiply, have not become founders abroad, of separate colonies and states of their own several nationalities and languages, but have, so to speak, cast their abundance into our lap. They have supplied the United States with a large and most valuable portion of their immigrants.

The Germans are aggregated, I believe, at various points, in numbers such as to allow of their continuing, amidst the vast English-speaking community, what may be succinctly called their German life.

We see at home, in the case of Wales, with what persistency a nationality and a tongue can be upheld in the face of enormous numerical odds. For of the two and thirty millions of this island, the Welsh scarcely reckon a million and a half, and a portion of their country, not inconsiderable, has always been English-speaking. Yet it is computed by persons having the best means of information which the case admits, such as Mr. Richard, the representative of Merthyr Tydvil, that more persons now speak Welsh than at any former time. But then the nationality and tongue of Wales in Great Britain are indigenous, and had prior possession; those of Germany in the United States are junior as well as transplanted. With due reserve, I anticipate for them a gentle decline, and a painless absorption, such as that of him

Whom Heaven decrees in peace to end his days,
And steal himself from life by slow decays;

while from them we may reckon upon a very rich addition to the homogeneous resources of the great American nations.

Let me offer, then, some suggestions respecting the probable growth of the English-speaking races. With a rational computation before our eyes, as to the fact, we may then proceed to contemplate the consequences that appear to spring from it. Fair probability is all which we can look for in such a subject-matter. But if, in estimating what is to be, we found ourselves on what has been, it would seem that fair probability may be had.

The habitual speakers of English a century ago may be taken, I conceive, by a very liberal estimate, at fifteen millions. The population of the British Isles was fifteen millions at the close of the century, and may have been fourteen about the year 1787. To these may be added three millions for the United States¹ and a very few hundred thousands for the dispersed colonists of that day, if we do not include the wholly uninstructed negroes of the West Indies.

But the speakers of Welsh, Gaelic, and most of all (at that time) Erse, are to be deducted; and these, taken together, would about balance the English-speakers dwelling beyond the borders of the three kingdoms.

¹ These I find returned at four million three hundred thousand. In 1790 the figures stood at nearly three million two hundred thousand. Negroes are not here included.

It would be difficult to estimate the English-speakers of the present year at less than from a hundred to a hundred and five millions ; or those of 1900 at less than a hundred and twenty millions. Seven times fifteen gives us one hundred and five millions ; so that the past hundred years has supplied us at least with the multiple of seven, which might perhaps be placed even somewhat higher. The application of this multiple would give us for the year 2000 A. D. the enormous figure of eight hundred and forty millions of English-speaking persons.

From one fifth of the total in 1800, the United States have gradually advanced their proportion, until it has reached nearly three fifths, and, should the present rates of growth be maintained all round, it may possibly become as much as three fourths before the term on which we are speculating is exhausted. This therefore is the grand factor to which we should turn our principal attention. My time shall run from the present year.

From 1790 to 1800, and 1800 to 1810, the annual increment was about three and two thirds per cent. Through the intervening period it has varied, with a general but variable tendency to slight decline. As late as from 1840 to 1850, and from 1850 to 1860 it was over three per cent. From 1860 to 1870 it was abnormally checked, as the war would give us reason to expect. From two and one half per cent., for this decade of depression, it has rallied to three per cent.

Some of us English, perverse in mind, may, in noting this decline as compared with 1850 to 1860, cast a sidelong glance at the system of protection; which, however, I regard as a forbidden subject, so that I pass on.

Now, as I reckon the figures, if this increment of three per cent. were what mathematicians term a constant, it would by the year 1987 A. D. raise the population to the enormous figure of seven hundred millions, or nearly twice the population of China.

But as the annual increment has decreased in the last century of years by (say) two thirds per cent., and the rate of decline may grow, if we assume its gradual fall to two per cent. the result would, I think, be to bring the population of the United States, at the date which I have named, up to five hundred and fifty, or between five hundred and fifty and five hundred and eighty millions. As the rate of future increase is conjectural, so, of course, is the result which is based upon that rate.

An augmentation from sixty millions at the present date to five hundred and fifty millions at a date one hundred years hence, is a multiplication ninefold within that period. This multiplication sounds sufficiently startling. But then it is an estimate founded on references to the past, which, if not mathematically determinate, are liable to error only within very narrow limits.

These references are two. First, in 1787, the English-speakers were rather below than above fifteen millions, whereas they are now not less than seven times as many. The fifty millions of the United States in 1880 must, by the current increment, be taken at fully sixty millions now : the United Kingdom at thirty-seven millions, and the Colonies, with the sprinkling elsewhere, at from eight to ten.

Secondly, the population of the United States, which is returned at three million nine hundred thousand at the first census in 1790, had multiplied between twelve and thirteen fold at the date of the last census of fifty millions in 1880. This multiplication is nearly twice as rapid as the prospective growth now assumed.

Consequently, the conjectures before us, though hypothetical, cannot be called arbitrary. The astonishing increase already realized leaves no vacant space in the mind for future wonder. And what is most of all curious is, that the marvel was not unforeseen.

Captain G. Imlay was appointed, after the War of Independence, to make an examination of what may be termed the back country; and at the request of a friend in England, he reported not only its actual state, but in part his estimate of its probable destinies. The series of letters, in which this estimate is conveyed, was published in London in the year 1792.¹

In this small volume are contained very curious notices and anticipations. In 1787 the Assembly of Virginia had given to a Mr. Rumsey of that State the exclusive privilege, for ten years, of navigating boats by steam, with a view to the ascent of the rivers.

In the Ninth Letter the emancipation of the blacks, after a limited period, is recommended. The whole book is pervaded in a singular degree by what may be termed, the Spirit of the New World. In the Fourth Letter is discussed the possible growth of population. While Mr. Jefferson had allowed for duplication once in twenty-seven and one fourth years, Imlay daringly counts on it once in fifteen years. It is the British editor who, in his Preface, boldly, but with greater caution, works out the results.

Writing in 1792, he takes the actual population at four millions or upwards. He doubles only once in twenty-five years, but assumes a series of duplications, "at the end of a hundred years, their number will be sixty-four millions." In 1880 it was in round numbers fifty millions. The annual increment from 1870 was at the rate of three per cent. The continuance of the same increment for thirteen years, would give us for 1893, sixty-nine and a half millions. It may safely be said that a courageous prediction has been outstripped by a marvelous and unparalleled result.

Mr. Barham Zincke, a well-known writer, astonished the world in 1883, by a most interesting tract, in which he endeavored to estimate the probable numbers of the English-speaking races all over the world, a century after the date of publication.² He estimated the aggregate at a thousand millions.

¹ *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America. . . . A Delineation of the Laws and Government of the State of Kentucky, tending to show the Probable Rise and Grandeur of the American Empire.* By G. Imlay. London, 1792.

² *The Plough and the Dollar, or the Englishry of a Century hence.* London. Kegan Paul. 1883. The principal part of the pamphlet is given to a discussion, not of the relation between the Englishry and the rest of the civilized world, but the effect of modern changes on society at large. Mr. Zincke claims the high

By the simple process of duplication in every twenty-five years, he placed the share of the United States in A. D. 1980 at eight hundred millions. He gave to the British Islands seventy millions, or nearly double what they had at the time when he wrote ; no unreasonable assumption, if we bear in mind that, notwithstanding the abnormal circumstances of Ireland, in which I for one hopefully anticipate a change, their total grew from fifteen millions in 1801 to thirty-five millions in 1881, and thus presented a greater increase in a shorter time.

The part which British North America and Australia have to play in this drama is a most important one. A Canadian minister assured me that the Dominion, in its occupied and unoccupied lands, was capable of maintaining a population of two hundred millions. Mr. Zinke may be in excess, but he has written with care : and I have seen the estimate of a Continental writer, seriously made, who arrives at a total of seven hundred millions. This total implies a rate of increase considerably less rapid than that of the last hundred years.

Even at the hazard of tedium, it has been necessary to lay this rather broad basis of reasonable conjecture sustained by references to the past, as a foundation for what follows. Whether one thousand millions, or seven hundred, be the estimate preferred, or if we abate even from the total allowed by a foreign judge, who probably views the case with a legitimate jealousy, there is abundant room for the conclusions which I seek to draw.

The first of these is that in all likelihood, amounting nearly, though not quite, to moral certainty, the numbers of the English-speaking races will, at the period in question, be enormously in excess of those associated with any other European or Old World language, and perhaps very considerably in excess of them all when put together.

Next to the English tongue, the German and the Russian have the largest following. But both are far behind the English tongue, even as to the basis of present numbers from which we take our departure. The future increase, in the case of Germany, is materially limited by area, and that of Russia by climate (like British North America), and by some other circumstances.

It may be that the Russian tongue has good chances of the second place in numbers, though less probably in influence, and if second in numbers, yet it seems likely to be second, *longissimo intervallo*. The probable Russian-speaking population can hardly be more than a small fraction of the English-speakers, though in area Russia exceeds the aggregate extent of the United States, British North America, and Australasia. In the past fifty years, the growth of the Russian population has not I believe exceeded one half of the British, or one fourth of the American.

My second proposition is that, under the conditions of modern communication, this vast increase of the English-speaking races will draw them more closely together ; will augment their stock of common interests and feelings ; will render them as to each collective *ego*, each territory or country, authority of Mr. Giffen (of the Board of Trade) for the aggregate of a thousand millions.

less egotistical ; and will evolve and consolidate, throughout the mass, a stronger sense of moral oneness.

Of political relations I do not presume to speak. Some may be of opinion that, if the United States hold, as they are likely to hold, their political unity, a state of such vast dimensions, with wealth in all likelihood more than proportionate, will be menacing or even perilous to the European world.

I do not share these fears. London, with its four millions of people, is far better governed, far more under control than when it had but one fourth of its present population. I for one am so sanguine as to believe that, long before it has six or eight millions, it will have acquired, and will be in the familiar use of, the inestimable privileges of local self-government at present wanting to it, and will be governed a great deal better still.

Government is, I apprehend, more highly organized now in the United States than when they had one twentieth or one tenth of their present population. Happily for mankind, the period of large territorial conquests seems to be drawing rapidly towards a close, and the available surface of the planet is limited so as to forbid an extensive revival.

The internal difficulties of the States, as we all hope, have vanished. Their causes of contention with European powers, which were mainly with ourselves, have been, one by one, in course of removal, so as to justify the belief that occasions of offense can only be furnished hereafter by a spirit of wanton provocation such as would lie beyond all the ordinary limits of human folly.

I do not undervalue prospective European difficulties. But they appear to be wholly European, and they do not reach across the broad Atlantic which is upon the whole, apart from other incidents, a mighty guarantee for peace. There has been no war across that ocean for more than seventy years ; why should there be one for seventy or twice seventy more ? It would be presumptuous to say that there will not and cannot be an unforeseen controversy ; but it need not be presumptuous to hold that there is no British, no European reason for foreseeing one. Especially if the same true and fine instinct, which has taught Americans that the Union must be one from New England to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic sea-board to the Pacific, shall also with the lesson of " thus far " teach them as effectually the lesson of " no farther," and help them more and more to realize the enormous advantage of continuous territory.

It is in the same cheerful spirit that I would touch a second political question, with which some British minds may be troubled. Will the uprising nations, which are still dependencies on the British crown, continue, for another century, to own its supremacy ? My answer is simply this : I hope they may ; I know of no reason why they should not ; why the elastic relations, which now happily subsist, should not continue to find room and verge enough for including and adjusting such novelties as may arise.

It is true that some great war might stir up a new class of difficulties ; but I do not despair of finding the resources of civilization to be sufficient

for solving them. In the recent history of colonial relations, centripetal has been stronger than centrifugal force; and the vague possibilities of separation have thus far been dwindling, and not growing, with the lapse of time.

But these cheerful persuasions must not deter me from observing that these resources of civilization, and the hopes of the future, would not be exhausted, even if the political ties were in any given case supposed to be sundered. On the contrary, the community of language, the essential and governing unity of race, the common patrimony of great and fundamental ideas, which supply a base and a mould for politics at large, together with the wide and deep sympathies in religion, would remain, and would remain entire. And if we are now, under the joint action of many influences, drawing morally and socially nearer to our colonists, it is perfectly possible that that approximation might continue, even if one among those influences were subtracted from their aggregate.

Even so it is that, according to my judgment and experience, there is an approximation actually at work between Englishmen and Americans. They are being drawn nearer and nearer to one another, not by any artificial contrivances, but with "the cords of a man."

Not in proof, but in illustration of this sentiment, I may refer to the increasing number of marriages between English and Americans, and the entirely genial character of their social results. All my life long, I have, in a wide and varied circle, seen and shared the intercourse between the two countries.

It is not the same as it was. It has been visibly softened, mellowed, ripened. An American stranger is to us more and more like a British stranger, and I hope that a British stranger is to them more and more like an American stranger. If there is a space between, it is a narrowing space. The great idea of common inheritance, and to a large extent of common prospects, more and more regulates our relations, and makes easy and familiar the conditions of mutual approach. If not the actual sense, yet something like the actual sense, of a common country, is growing up afresh, and the elements of a new moral unity are gradually both multiplied, and shaped into familiar use.

It too often happens, in controversy ecclesiastical and other, that where approximation is on the lips, estrangement is in the heart, and love is thereby beguiled into doing the work of hatred. A. proposes to draw nearer to B., but the real object is to widen the distance of both from C., D., and E.

Is that the meaning of all our fair speaking about the English tongue, and the bond of union it supplies? Does it mean that we are to isolate ourselves from the great and rich European past, from the history, literature, art, religion, of the Old World? Are we in our enlarged dimensions to cripple the freedom, or to grudge the development, of the several nations? I trust not; and I believe that the wide and brilliant prospect which we of the English tongue see before us, opens to us a pure addition to the social wealth of mankind, without danger and without drawback at

any point of the compass. The growth is a natural and providential growth, and imports ill to none. Its dangers, if it had them, would be neutralized by diffusion.

We need not, however, hesitate to embrace what I will now in conclusion set out as my third proposition; namely, that great influence and great duties cannot but accrue to the English-speaking races, united by so many ties, and in such preponderating mass, as towards the rest of the civilized world.

There can hardly fail to grow up in the hands of this portion of mankind, a species of hegemony, hard at this time to describe, but subtle and refined in its essence, thoroughly natural and normal in its origin, and dependent wholly on free acknowledgment for its reception.

Our tongue, with all that belongs to it, will be the one most fully represented at every point on the surface of the globe. It will reach almost to every human being, even if only by material dealings, and the stress of the progressive material development. It must outnumber in each country the visitors of any other country. They must exceed all others in such influences as they receive in common, and in such as they impart in common to those who travel from within the respective precincts of the other great and famous tongues. A common moral and social stock will accumulate among them within the circuit of the English speech, far larger than any other in the world. It will be strange indeed, if they do not become in a marked degree the leaders of opinion, and through opinion, of practice.

I am aware that, on the principles I have sketched, the same issues which give a predominance to English-speakers in the world may also give a predominance among English-speakers to Americans. I do not assume that all these changes will be unmingled for good.

What I desire is that we should meet them with a prepared mind; should be ready, we the English-speakers among ourselves, to waive sectional for the sake of general advantage; that we should try to expel or neutralize detected or suspected mischiefs, to extract from each social force the maximum of good which it is capable of yielding. Most of all, that we should never allow the buoyant experiences of the new State to abate our reverence for the Elder World, and the great traditions of mankind: and that we should bear in mind how every new channel opened to our influence, every accession made to our social force, every shifting to our advantage in the distribution of the *momenta* of human action, is a new trust for which we must give account, a new summons to us that we should live a braced and watchful, not a remiss and sluggish life, a new element of that universal priesthood, in which every man, who does his duty day by day, ever offers for himself and for others gifts to the most high God. — *From The Youth's Companion, October 1, 1888.*

HAWARDEN, August 31, 1887.

TEXT-BOOKS MUTILATED BY JESUITS.

IN Tremont Temple, Boston, November 15th, was held the first public meeting of the Protestant Committee of One Hundred. The Rev. Dr. J. B. Dunn spoke as follows on "The Romanized Substitute for Swinton : " —

Swinton's History, the Boston School Committee said, "was removed in the interest of truth and fairness ;" its "teaching," they affirm, "is not correct ; it conveys the impression that an indulgence is a permission to commit sin." Swinton's History teaches nothing of the kind. The foot-note in dispute says : "These indulgences were, in the early ages of the church, remissions of the penances imposed upon persons whose sins had brought scandal upon the community. But in process of time they were represented as actual pardons of guilt, and the purchaser of indulgence was said to be delivered from all his sins."

On this misrepresentation Swinton was removed, and Anderson's New General History was substituted, because, as one member of the school committee said, "it gives a fair account of indulgences." But when he made this statement he said what was not true. We appeal to that book. Anderson's History does not contain a word about indulgences. What then are we to understand ? That the committee had not examined the book, and had been imposed upon ? or that having examined it, they would impose upon the public ? We leave the gentlemen to explain. It was further said in the committee : "If facts are to be given in a history, they must be given as they are, and not distorted." Very true, and that is just what Swinton does. But how about the history that does not give the facts ?

On page 598 of Anderson's New General History we read that in the reign of Maximilian I. "Martin Luther published his famous ninety-five theses against the *doctrines* of the Catholic Church." Is this what the members of the Boston School Committee call "truthful history" ? Do they not know that Martin Luther's theses were against indulgences ?

Again, on page 599 we read that "from the spread of Luther's tenets grew *what is called* the Reformation." And this is all that the school committee of Boston would teach the youth of America concerning one of the greatest and grandest events of modern history. Cardinal John Newman, a very high authority of the Roman Catholic Church, says in his pamphlet in reply to Mr. W. E. Gladstone's "Vatican Decrees," that "while Protestants speak of the *blessed* Reformation, Catholics, when they describe it, speak of it as the *so-called* Reformation." Singular agreement between Anderson the author, and Newman the Cardinal!

Why is it that Anderson's General History, so highly commended by the school committee of Boston, speaks thus slightly of such a great event, and otherwise falsifies and distorts history? Anderson's History has been Romanized.

In a Roman Catholic work, "Judges of the Faith," published at Baltimore and bearing the recommendations and indorsements of two cardinals and several bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, thus giving it high authority, we find on pages 23, 24, 25, eight school-books strongly condemned, some of which, the author says, was "put on the index of prohibited books." Of the eight he condemns, Swinton's and Anderson's histories were the first named. Now, how does it happen that one book thus condemned is substituted by the agents of the Romish Church for another condemned book which they had succeeded in removing from the public schools? The natural inference is that the book has been Romanized and doctored to meet the wishes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Study the following parallel columns and form your own judgment:—

THE OLD ANDERSON PROHIBITED.

On page 163, in speaking of King Henry II. of England in the Middle Ages, it says: "His next object was to reform the abuses and correct the vices of the clergy, who, being by the institutions of William the Conqueror, amenable only to ecclesiasti-

THE NEW ANDERSON ROMANIZED.

On page 350, it says of King Henry II. of England: "His next object was to diminish the powers and privileges of the clergy, who were, by the institutions of William the Conqueror, amenable only to the ecclesiastical courts, by which if found

cal authority, *set the common laws of the realm at defiance.*"

On page 179, in speaking of Henry IV., after describing the part the king and his son took in the battle near Shrewsbury [1403], when they "signalized themselves by their feats of strength and daring," it says: "Henry, in order to *gain the favor of the church, caused severe laws to be passed against the Lollards [the followers of Wickliffe], and one of them was condemned and burnt at the stake [1401]. This was the first English subject that was put to death on account of his religious opinions.*"

On page 191 it says: "The reign of Philip II. of France is also noted for the *PERSECUTION* of the Albigenses."

On page 192, under the reign of Louis IX. of France it says: "*The Inquisition was established at Toulouse, and all who refused to conform to the tenets of the Church of Rome were mercilessly punished.*"

On page 194 we are told that the reign of Philip IV. of France "*is particularly noted for the contest which arose between the King and the Pope [Boniface VIII.], on account of the attempt of the latter to prevent the taxation of the clergy. Boniface in vain issued bull after bull, all of which were treated with contempt and defiance by Philip, who, after the death of Boniface, succeeded in placing the Archbishop of Bordeaux under the title of Clement V. on the papal throne, and transferred the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, where it remained for about 70 years.*"

On page 293, under the reign of Charles IX., we read "that the Queen Mother entered into a con-

guilty they were delivered up to the secular power for punishment.

On page 367, after describing in the same language the part the king and his son took in this battle, *ALL* after the word "daring" is omitted.

On page 383 it says: "This reign is memorable for the *rise* of the Albigenses."

On page 384 *this entire passage is omitted.*

In the new book all of this is omitted.

On page 549 the words in *italics* are omitted.

spiracy to remove him [Admiral Coligny], by assassination, and thus arouse the vengeance of the Huguenots, so that a pretext might be found for their destruction."

On page 293, in speaking of the St. Bartholomew Massacre, it says, "The number of those that fell in Paris is estimated at 10,000; the whole number slaughtered in different parts of the kingdom amounting to 30,000."

On page 549 it says: "The number of those who fell in Paris alone has been estimated at 10,000, but it is impossible to ascertain the number of victims with accuracy."

Professor L. T. Townsend, D. D., following Dr. Dunn, said :
MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : — In these meetings we are in no danger of repeating too often that our object is not to wage war against the lay membership of the Roman Catholic Church. We are not the foes of Roman Catholics ; we wish them well ; not a hair of their heads would we harm ; we claim that we are working for their highest interests — temporal and eternal — and are, therefore, their truest friends. Our desire in what is now doing is to secure for Roman Catholics and for their children, as well as for ourselves and for our children, freedom from ecclesiastical dictation — freedom to think, freedom to speak, freedom to vote as one pleases, and freedom likewise in educational and in religious matters. If, therefore, those who are working for these and similar objects are not the friends of our Roman Catholic citizens, we fail to imagine who can be called their friends.

But, on the other hand, we would have it distinctly and emphatically understood first, and last, and at all times, that we are making a relentless warfare upon all ecclesiastical officers in the papal church, from the pope down to the humblest priest, who for sectarian purposes are meddling with either our educational or our political affairs. These ecclesiastical officers, who at present seem to be under complete Jesuitical domination, and whom we may call the clerical party, have entered into this controversy to conquer and to rule ; and it may as well be understood first as last that they of the Protestant party, by whom we mean all citizens who protest against sectarian interferences

in either the civil, educational, or religious rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States, have also entered this controversy with the intention of not being conquered and ruled.

At the Faneuil Hall meeting, July 11, and on the evening of the organization of the Committee of One Hundred, the sword was drawn, the scabbard was flung to the winds, the bridges were torn down; retreat on the part of the Protestant party was thereafter out of the question; the idea of retreat is not to be entertained for a moment; in a word, the fight now begun is not to cease, but is to continue until the hand of an essentially foreign power no longer shall be felt pressing with its withering touch upon our free institutions, which are dear as life to every true American citizen. In these statements we are not giving advice; we are simply setting forth the attitude of those who are represented in this city by the Committee of One Hundred.

And, too, it will of course be understood that our use of these military terms is figurative. The sword of which we speak is not a literal one, and we are not at present looking for bloodshed. We are to use ballots, not bullets. If violence is resorted to, the clerical party will have to be the aggressor, — and afterwards will have to take the consequences. Such is the attitude of the Protestant party.

Since, therefore, they of the clerical party have taken the position that they will have political possession, not only of cities here and there, but of the entire country, and that they will have absolute control in all educational matters; since, indeed, they can do nothing less and nothing else and remain true to their church obligations; since they must do this or renounce the oaths they have taken, the things that follow belong to what is apparently inevitable; that is, if the clerical party does not yield, — and we do not see how it can, — and if the Protestant party does not yield, — and it has solemnly resolved not to, — then sooner or later there must be a conflict of some sort; and unless God interposes, those who are the strongest, the most persistent, and the most courageous, will gain the day. And the sooner this conflict comes and is settled, bringing to

an end the existing controversy, if it can be brought to an end, the better will be the feeling not merely of one hundred but of ten thousand of our fellow-citizens.

There are at present two general phases of this controversy, the political and the educational. Our meeting this evening is for the purpose of considering especially the educational phase, and we may be allowed to narrow still further the discussion and follow the particular line of thought forcibly brought to our attention by Dr. Dunn, namely, the meddling of the clerical party with our school literature. In various ways the fact has been brought to our attention that they of the clerical party have decided not only to establish schools of their own and to fill them with scholars taken from the public schools, without any regard to what embarrassments may come to our schools, but also to appoint teachers of their own sect for the public schools, and to select such committees for the public schools as shall do their bidding; and, as has been shown this evening, they likewise have decided to change to suit their purposes all text-books used in the public schools.

The command has gone forth and the church must obey. In the XLV. Section of the Encyclical of Pope Pius IX. we read: "The Romish Church has the right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools, and in the arrangement of the studies of the public schools, and in the choice of the teachers for these schools."

What a startling illustration of this ecclesiastical interference has just been brought to our attention by Dr. Dunn. The statement of the case in a word is this: Anderson's General History was prohibited by the Baltimore council. The publishers cut out paragraph after paragraph. Facts vital in the history of Europe were suppressed. Absolutely false statements were made. In what utter detestation these publishers should be held. And the Boston School Committee now substitute this Romanized Anderson for Swinton's Outlines, which, for accuracy and for literary merit, is declared by some of the best scholars of our Commonwealth to be in every respect superior to that Anderson book. And think you this is the kind of a school committee to which the citizens of Boston are henceforth

to intrust their educational interests? Have not these men forfeited all their rights to remain in the position they now hold? But this is not all.

In the Baltimore council already referred to the clerical party put under the ban of the church the following books used in the public schools: Swinton's *Outlines of the World's History*; Anderson's *General History*; Cornell's and Mitchell's *Geographies*; Hume's *Histories*; Hallam's *Middle Ages*; Cleveland's *English Literature*; Whateley's *Elements of Logic*; Hayden's *Psychology*; Draper's *Chemistry and Natural Philosophy*.

These nine books are to be displaced by Romanized books. They of the clerical party have so decided. That is, they of that party claim the right, as Roman Catholics, to say what books shall and what books shall not be used, not only by their children in parochial schools, but by our children in the public schools. This right is plainly set forth in a paper entitled, "*The Catholics of the Nineteenth Century*:" "The supremacy asserted for the church in matters of education implies the additional and cognate functions of the censorship of ideas, and the right to examine and approve, or disapprove, all books, publications, writings, and utterances intended for public instruction, enlightenment, or entertainment." Nor is this sort of dictation and expurgation a mere theory in Catholicism; it is a theory now in full force in our commonwealth; nor is it in its beginnings quite so recent as some people are led to suppose.

At one time, ten or twelve years ago if we remember the date correctly, Dickens's "*Child's History of England*" was introduced into some of our schools to the great delight of the scholars, and remained in use until the clerical expurgators of this city discovered something distasteful in it, and at their dictation it was dropped. In 1879 Miss Thompson's "*History of England*" was introduced, by order of the committee, into the Boston schools; but subsequently, being objected to by the Inquisition, it was dropped.

Not long since an excellent school history of England was prepared by one of the masters in our public schools. Efforts were made by his publishers to introduce it into the schools of our city. It was, however, like other books, submitted to the

Inquisition. It was returned with twenty or thirty alterations. The publishers, anxious to have the work adopted, applied to the author to accede to these Roman Catholic expurgatorial demands. This he did, and the book, as altered, was again submitted to the priests, who again returned it with a demand for further alteration.

The contortions of history, however, would have been such, had these additional priestly requirements been acceded to, that the book would have belied the history it pretended to record. The author refused to make these alterations; he could not make them and retain his self-respect. The result was that the school committee declined to adopt the book.

Standard histories, ornaments to literature and accepted authorities in the world of letters, are not allowed by Roman Catholic priests to be used in the schools of Boston; and Boston you are accustomed to call the birthplace of American freedom. The history of Macaulay, and that of Green, and that of Knight, as text-books or as books of reference, are excluded from the public schools of this city.

Indeed, henceforth Rome herself proposes to write the world's history. She alone has the right. By the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, as laid down by Cardinal Manning, *the pope is the judge of what history is*. If the pope says that a thing did not exist, notwithstanding the world knows it did, the church is bound to believe him. "History is a wilderness into which infallibility will allow no one to wander of his own appointment without guilt, and it denies to every man the right to exercise his own reason or common sense in separating the true from the false." ("Papacy and Civil Power.")

"The only source of revealed truth is God: the only channel of the revelation is the church. No human history can declare what is contained in that revelation. The church (the pope) alone can determine its limits and therefore its contents. And when the pope, acting for the church, *does determine what are its limits and contents, no difficulties of human history can prevail against it*. The church is its own evidence, *anterior to its history and independent of it*. *Its history is to be learned of itself*." (Cardinal Manning, "The Vatican Council and its

Definitions," p. 121.) Therefore Macanlay, Green, and Knight have no business to write history.

The issue made is, therefore, simply this: The clerical party, by the authority of the pope, says that the Inquisition now in force is to be continued until books of Roman Catholic selection, and no others, are used in the public schools. The Committee of One Hundred, representing the Protestant party of this city, replies, "*No!* If we have the power, your dictation has already ended; the city of Boston is not the place to tolerate any longer an ecclesiastical inquisition."

At this point it may not be out of place or uninteresting to give a few specimens of such Roman Catholic history as the clerical party, had it sufficient power and courage, would unhesitatingly foist upon our public schools. "In one of their most popular books, "*Sadlier's History of the United States*," "for the use of schools and colleges," are found these statements; "The *only* systematic and successful attempts to civilize and Christianize the Indians were made by Catholic missionaries;" "The independence of the United States was, in a *great degree*, secured by Catholic blood, talent, and treasure." Those representations are not history; they are not merely falsehoods, they are lies!

In that book of 429 pages, covering the history of the United States, there are devoted, in the sections entitled "Biographical Sketches," not thirty lines to Abraham Lincoln, while between forty and fifty lines are devoted to Archbishop Hughes. The sketch of George Washington is summed up in twenty-eight lines, while thirty-seven lines are devoted to Fr. Peter de Smet.

Scores of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics are mentioned and lauded to the skies. But from that history one would never suspect that there had ever been in this country a Methodist bishop, or an Episcopalian bishop, or a church functionary of any importance outside of the Roman Catholic Church. And yet this is one of the standard historical text-books for Roman Catholic schools; and no Roman Catholic will deny that, as soon as the church deems it prudent to make the change, Sadlier will displace Swinton and Anderson and every other text-book on

history, unless there should be one written which is more completely Romanized than Sadlier's.

In another exceedingly popular Catholic book, Bishop Gilmore's "Bible History," which has the unqualified commendation of the pope, of Cardinal Manning, and of leading American church dignitaries, are found these words: —

"Catholicity has appealed to reason; Protestantism, like Mohammedanism, to force and violence. In England and Scotland Protestantism was forced upon the people by fines, imprisonment, and death; in Germany and Prussia, Sweden and Denmark and Norway, the same. In America the Puritans acted in like manner."

What more stupendous falsehood was ever penned in the name of history? This is manufactured history; but then Catholicism, irrespective of facts, claims the right to say what is and what is not historic.

Sadlier's "Excelsior Introduction to Geography," and O'Shea's "Comprehensive Geographies," and several of the Catholic reading books are no less utterly false in many of their statements. And these are the books from which thousands of our future citizens are taught in Catholic schools, and these and like books are the ones that Jesuitism is intending to thrust upon all our public schools.

A book written by Father Baddeley, published in Boston, which Catholic children are obliged to commit to memory, speaking of Martin Luther, says: "What! can a man who was mad with lust, who lived in adultery, and caused others to do the same — who wrote most horrid blasphemy, and corrupted the Bible, who was a notorious drunkard and companion of devils, who was as proud as Satan himself, a preacher of sedition and murder; what! can this *wretch* be compared with Paul?"

After paving the way by various statements, the book before us asks the following question: "Must not, then, the Protestant Church, instead of leading men to heaven, infallibly lead them to hell?"

Ans. "As none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire or sword but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made, so none shall ever escape

the eternal wrath of God, who belong not to the [*Catholic*] Church of God."

After depicting the sins of Protestants, the question is asked, "Can we find no better kind of holiness among Catholics?"

Ans. "Yes; the holiness of the Catholic religion is indeed very different from that of other religions, because the religions framed by men teach doctrines invented by Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Whitefield, and other deluded and wicked men, whereas the Catholic Church teaches only that doctrine which Christ taught his apostles."

A book bearing the title "Plain Talk about the Protestantism of To-day," which is placed in the hands of young Catholics, contains these statements: "Martin Luther died forlorn of God, — blaspheming to the very end. His last word was an attestation of impenitence. His eldest son, who had doubts both about the Reformation and the Reform, asked him for a last time whether he persevered in the doctrine he preached. 'Yes,' replied a gurgling sound from the old sinner's throat, — and Luther was before his God! . . . Calvin died of scarlet fever, devoured by vermin, and eaten up by an ulcerous abscess, the stench whereof drove away every person. In great misery he gave up his rascally ghost, despairing of salvation, evoking the devils from the abyss, and uttering oaths most horrible and blasphemies most frightful."

Of Fox's "Book of Martyrs" this same treatise says: "These saints were nothing but a set of deluded, rebellious, impious, and blasphemous wretches." Are such stupendous lies to become standard history unrebuked because Roman Catholic priests have so determined?

These and similar teachings, children in the reformatory institutions of Massachusetts have been compelled, on pain of horsewhipping, to commit to memory. Are the people of Massachusetts to submit unresistingly to these impositions?

But we must pause in this review of Roman Catholic histories and reach one conclusion. When we call to mind that the clerical party has remanded our public school system to the devil, "from whence it came," pronounced it a "national fraud," and "a social cancer" and has longed for the day when it "will be

shivered to pieces ;" when we call to mind the fact that the priests of Massachusetts, who appreciate our public schools, who in some instances were educated in them, and who at heart deprecate the parochial school movement, are threatened with removal from their parishes unless they build parochial schools ; when we call to mind the additional fact that parents, citizens of our state, who are perfectly satisfied with the public schools, are compelled under one of the most fearful of threats to take their children out of the public school where they are taught loyalty to the state and to place them in the parochial school where they are taught that supreme loyalty is due not to the government of the United States but to the pope at Rome ; when they of the clerical party take in hand the control of the public schools to such extent as to demand of the school committee the displacement of a text-book that teaches the truth, and because it teaches the truth ; when the school committee is itself so far Romanized that it dare not or will not restore that book though respectfully requested to do so by a large body of our citizens ; when with all haste the school committee do the bidding of a young Catholic priest in South Boston, Father Metcalf, but turn a deaf ear to all the Protestant preachers of the Evangelical Alliance ; when public school teachers are intimidated, though Mr. Travis was not ; when we have come to the pass that only mutilated history can be taught in the public schools of Boston ; when all authors of school books must read their manuscripts and submit their proofs to the clerical party, and make such erasures and revisions as the Inquisition demands, or be sure of having their books rejected, — when matters in this city have come to such passes, is there no call for a Committee of One Hundred ? Is there no call for protestation even the loudest, and for resistance the most resolute and by all lawful measures ?

Fellow-citizens : We are for peace ; we always have been for peace. We now deplore more than we can tell the plunging of this land into another era of strife — this land whose government is not perfect, but is the best under the sun ; this land that offers a home for the distressed of all nationalities, except one ; this land where happiness and prosperity have attended the well-directed efforts of all well-disposed citizens. There is

no excuse for another war ; in other words, there is no excuse for these attacks upon our educational and civil institutions. The world will bear witness that from the time when the attack upon the reading of the Bible in our public schools began, twenty years ago, we have been for peace. We have been tolerant in the extreme. Our toleration has been such as to be an astonishment to many of the far-seeing statesmen of Europe. We have made concessions in the interests of peace ; but this peace-policy and these concessions have done for us nothing except to strengthen the hands of those who are now grasping for the complete political management of the country and for the absolute control of all our educational interests.

We have not been intolerant ; we are not bigots, but in the name of God and humanity we do protest against the Jesuitical talk that has been filling our ears, and against the curses that have been heaped upon our public school system ; we protest against any and all of these Jesuitical interferences, in packing school committees, in falsifying history, in intimidating Protestant teachers, and in removing them without adequate cause. We have submitted, we have waited patiently, but we now protest, and we shall *resent* any further aggressions. The clerical party has been trusted to the fullest extent ; it can be trusted no farther. While remaining under the domination of Jesuitism, there is no longer any place for it or for those who unresistingly do its disloyal bidding, either upon our school board or in our city hall, or in any of our halls of legislation.¹

¹ The feelings of the audience during Dr. Townsend's speech were at white heat. Reiterated and emphatic outbursts of applause greeted the sentiments uttered, showing that there is as yet no waning of interest in this Protestant-Catholic controversy.

BERLIN ADDRESSES TO STUDENTS.¹

BY PROF. J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, D. D.

THIS is the fourth year in which I welcome students to my home, and I am rejoiced to find my house crowded at the first meeting. As we cannot have our rented church for worship on Sunday evening, I have opened my house for the purpose of affording you an American Christian home at the close of the Sabbath day, and of asking you to consider such subjects as are especially adapted to students. The hours from seven to ten will be occupied with an address, singing, and prayer, and with that Christian sociability which young Americans appreciate so highly in a foreign land. As I address students, I shall not hesitate to take up subjects of an intellectual character bearing directly on morals and religion. During the past three winters eminent Christian personalities have here been discussed, in order to learn the secret of their power; current tendencies in religious thought have also been considered, in order to enable the students the better to understand the important movements in the midst of which they are placed and which are so often full

¹ The meetings at which these addresses are delivered begin at 7 and last till 10 P. M. At 7 the company begin to gather, and until 8 the time is spent socially. At 8 the exercises begin with singing, followed by the address. At the close of the address another hymn is sung. The exercises, lasting about an hour, are closed with prayer. Then tea, sandwiches, and cakes are served, since many of the attendants, on account of the late German suppers, come without their evening meal. The rest of the time is spent in sociability.

Among the attendants are college professors, preachers, authors, doctors, students of philosophy, specialists in science, and persons devoted to music and art. The meeting is truly international, sometimes as many as eight or more nations being represented. The American students in the university of Berlin are mostly graduates of home institutions, and many of them have already taken a post-graduate course, or have been actively engaged in professional life.

of perplexity to a foreigner; and then I have taken up themes which are of especial interest to the philosophical student and the religious thinker, such as Christianity and science, philosophy and religion, and the various objections to faith on the part of modern culture. I have thus tried to aid the sincere inquirer after the highest truth, by investigating problems respecting which doubt in our day is common, in the hope of leading some one from darkness to light. The momentous importance of social problems has led me to give them great prominence heretofore, and last winter twelve evenings were devoted to the relation of the church to socialism. Similar subjects will be taken up this winter, my aim always being to discuss such topics as will be most helpful to you in the pursuit of the highest culture amid the best educational advantages the world affords.

Man is a unit, an organism. He is not a house with various apartments which can be separated from one another. Religion is not isolated in a man, but is organically connected with all that he is and all that belongs to him. You will therefore not expect me to treat religion as divorced from the other interests of man. In particular shall I feel free to discuss all intellectual subjects which affect religious thought and life. The ultimate aim of all the discussions will be the promotion of what is highest, namely, morality and religion.

Formal scholasticism is not our business here; that can be found in books, and needs not the living voice. Among the first sentences uttered by Lotze when he came to the university of Berlin was this: "A thought may be true without being fruitful." Surely an important hint. There is much knowledge which is an element of weakness; the value of truth depends on its kind. There are petrified and there are seed truths. We want truth that is quick and that quickens. There are so many burning questions demanding attention, that we have no time to waste in stirring up the ashes left by the fires of past ages. There are great tendencies of thought and life, momentous interests involving time and eternity, and perplexing difficulties which must be met and overcome; and in view of these it is becoming that we devote our best thoughts to what concerns us

most, and to what makes the age in which we live and of which we are a part.

In taking up vital questions, I cannot enter into details. For this the themes that force themselves upon us are too numerous and too rich. My aim will be to give suggestive thoughts and hints, in the hope of awaking thought in your mind, and of giving such directions to thinking as will be a real help to the intellect and to the heart. Perfect freedom is essential—freedom in utterance, freedom in the acceptance or rejection of what is stated. We can learn from Kant, who declared that he should regard as his best friend the man who convinced him of his dearest error. It is not our mission to dogmatize or to force our opinions on others. We are not here to form a school, but to be honest inquirers after the most precious truth, and to help one another in its search. We may aid each other intellectually; but each one must do the hardest and best work of thinking for himself. The thinking we do for ourselves develops mind as well as thought; and the thought we ourselves elaborate is immeasurably more valuable than the thought we merely adopt from another.

So much by way of introduction. The meetings themselves will be their own interpreter.

A German professor recently wrote to numerous evangelical theologians and preachers to learn what ten books, the Bible excepted, had exerted the most powerful influence upon them. At the same time he requested them to state, "to what they owed that which is best in them." The answers received have just been published in an interesting volume entitled "*Kleinode evangelischer Theologen*." The book gives a glimpse at the inner history of eminent thinkers. In many cases hints are given respecting the character of the books mentioned and the effect they produced. The diversity of the influential volumes is very great, though there are a few theologians and philosophers whose works are frequently named. It is also found that books wholly or mostly forgotten have become embodied in men and have determined the course of their lives. As might be expected, the works which have exerted a moulding power were of the living and suggestive kind rather than such as deal mainly with dry learning.

But to what are the persons addressed indebted for what is best in mind and heart and life? In some instances the discipline given by the experiences of life is regarded as the source of what is valued most highly. Thus life itself is found to be the best school and the best educator. But in the majority of cases that which is pronounced best is attributed neither to experience nor to books, but to personal influence. The answer was almost universally of this nature: "For what is best in me I am not indebted to books, but to personalities." In many cases the persons are named from whom the controlling influence emanated, and very often it is found to have been some favorite teacher. Fully as often by professors as by preachers was this testimony in favor of personal influence given; indeed, if there was any difference, the professors more than preachers attributed to personalities that which they regarded as best.

This unanimous testimony from so large a number of the leaders of religious thought, and from men representing different tendencies in theology, is certainly significant. What an emphasis it places on the personality! A professor, quoted in the volume, declares that by far the most important factor in the teacher is the character; that it is this which most powerfully impresses the student. The inferences drawn from so extensive a field justify us in affirming that the development of the personality ought to be the chief aim in all education, for the reason that by means of this personality, rather than by mere learning, the greatest blessings are to be wrought. There is encouragement and exaltation in the thought that we ourselves are of more value to the world through what we actually are than by means of what we merely possess.

That personality is the supreme human power ought really to be self-evident; but like other self-evident truths it is apt to be forgotten. Being too self-evident to require reflection, it does not receive that prominence before attention which reflection gives a subject. Were I to ask what books have exerted a moulding influence on your thought and life, it might be difficult for you to select half a dozen as deserving special mention. But it would likely be more easy to name certain persons who first aroused your minds, and who gave that impulse which you

still follow. Far more than to any particular human production we feel ourselves indebted to parents, teachers, preachers, and friends, for that creative energy which aroused us to a consciousness of self and of our mission in life. Not less is the intellect than the heart indebted to this power of the personality. Even if the heart was first affected, it communicated its life to the intellect.

There is special reason for dwelling on the influence of the personality. Its recognition is one of the needs of the times. One of the deepest of recent philosophers has expressed his surprise that the spirit, by means of which all things are known, should lose itself in the study of matter. We live in an age when it has become common to treat the mind as a tool which men quarry in the hard rocks of science. That for which all earthly things are valuable only so far as they minister to its growth has become a slave. Men have made the means the end, and the end the means. The mind weighed down by matter must work its way up through the hard incumbent mass so that it may again occupy its throne. And there are abundant evidences that the present enthusiasm for things and for brutes will yet be transformed into a passion for humanity. The way from matter to the human spirit is a step from nature to God ; and for this reason we rejoice in every proper emphasis on personality. There has been a descent of thought from theism to humanism, and thence to naturalism ; perhaps the time has come for the ascent of thought from naturalism to humanism, and thence to theism. Will that be followed by the synthesis or union of the three factors?

The personality like the spirit is undefinable ; but it is like life, we all know what is meant by it without a definition. It includes the whole inner man — intellect, heart, and will ; and it includes the body as the agent or the manifestation of the personality. Whatever concerns us most intimately and most exclusively, we speak of as personal ; and by the term personality we express what a man most deeply and most truly is ; it indicates his essence, his character. But the term character does not exhaust the personality. The personality is character with all the rich concreteness of life. Character is the sap ; the personality is the whole tree.

History consists of the streams which have flowed through the ages, and have made permanent deposits in humanity. No historian thinks of picking out the separate drops; but every one knows that each stream had its fountain in some person. In such persons the past is in some measure concentrated, the present embodied, and the future prophesied. To say nothing of our Lord, of Moses, the prophets and the apostles, we need but name Buddha, Zoroaster, Mohammed, Luther, Calvin, and Wesley. The source of empire, of systems, of schools of thought, must be sought in some individual. What is attributed to conventions and to social, ecclesiastical, and national tendencies, really dates for its origin to some personality who thought and saw farther than his fellows.

In order to illustrate the power of the personality I have selected four eminent names, all of them mentioned frequently in the book to which I have referred. As I sat at their feet while a student in Germany, and became somewhat intimate with them, I can speak from personal knowledge. Only so much will here be given as is necessary to bring out the most prominent traits in their personality.

The first I name is Dorner, during life the most eminent theological professor in the university of Berlin. He was profoundly speculative, ranking in that respect with Rothe and Julius Müller. But his speculation was intimately connected with life. Like all persons whose individuality is power, he took a deep interest in persons and in living tendencies. His correspondence with Bishop Martensen shows how eagerly he followed the best thought and most earnest seeking of the age. If his works make the impression that he was an abstract thinker, separated from the great currents of life, it is because they reveal but part of the man. He was in fact a great ethical personality, and it was this which made his personal influence so powerful. The severe conflicts in philosophy and theology had left their impress upon him; this was seen in the care with which he approached great questions, in the absence of all disposition to force his opinions on others, in his tolerance of contradictions, and in his fairness toward the arguments of opponents. He seemed the embodiment of peace; not because he had solved all problems, for that

claim he was far too modest ; but because he was confident that the victory in all conflicts will eventually belong to the truth. And I had it from his own lips, as life began to wane, that the truth of truths to him was the fact that we are saved by faith in Jesus Christ.

Upon his friends generally the gentle yet firm characteristics of his Christian personality left a strong impression. His last labors were devoted to his *Ethics*, a favorite subject ; but death overtook him before he completed the work. But greater than in the posthumous volume was the system of ethics embodied in the man himself, and his colleague Professor Kleinert very properly calls *Dorner* "an ethics written and finished by the Spirit of Christ." Professor Weiss bears this testimony : "Who that had ever come in contact therewith could forget the power of this Christian personality ?" And Dr. C. M. Mead says : "The impression made by his personality, even when no utterance of his can be distinctly remembered, was ineffaceable."

His last suffering deepened and softened in that personality all those Christian characteristics which had been so marked in his life. Never was a word of bitterness or even of complaint heard. He was gentle, even tender. His trust was sublime, and his peace truly passed understanding. When all this means much in ordinary cases, it does so especially in the case of one so predominantly intellectual, whose life was largely devoted to the difficult task of reconciling Christianity and modern thought.

The second person is Professor J. T. Beck of Tübingen. He made the impression of being an embodiment of Scripture, which was the sole source of his theology. In his emphasis on Scripture as the only rule of Christian faith and life, he was a true disciple of Bengel. He lived in the deep things of the Divine word, and in him its doctrines had become personal. There was an unyielding sternness in his character, and this at times made his polemics seem harsh. But that was owing to his positiveness, to his firmness of conviction, and to the determination to give God's word the solitary prominence it deserves. His most effective utterances were delivered when he left his manuscript and spoke extempore. Then the whole man seemed

to enter into his words. His deep earnestness convinced the students that he was thoroughly sincere ; and to this day many testify to the conviction of the truth of Scripture produced by the personality of Beek as developed by the word of God.

The third person is Julius Müller, professor of dogmatics in Halle. He had been won, as he himself stated, to the Christian faith by the personality of his friend Tholuck. The doctrines he at first apprehended with his heart had to be appropriated by his intellect, and this involved him in the severest conflicts. It is certainly significant that Christianity could so completely satisfy the mind of the author of the profoundest work ever written on Sin. His victories over doubt enabled him to write annihilating criticisms on the two most negative books of any age : The " *Leben Jesu* " by Strauss, and the " *Essence of Christianity* " by Feuerbach. Great as was his intellect, his heart was equally great. Characteristic of him is a sentence in one of his sermons — that the wounds struck by learning can be healed only by learning ; but equally characteristic of his nature is his sermon on the Soul's Homesickness, full of the intensest Christian yearning. A stroke of paralysis robbed him of his speculative power ; but for twenty-two years after the stroke he continued to read his lectures. The power of his personality was seen especially in his patience, his meekness, and his child-like faith. He had become the doctrines he so learnedly advocated.

I mention but one more person, namely, Tholuck. In personal influence among theological professors he has no equal in this century, perhaps none in history. Many hundreds are still living who heard with interest his lectures and sermons, but who ascribe to his direct personal contact the greatest power. His early doubts had repeatedly driven him to the verge of despair. So keenly alive was he to the various currents of thought that all the religious agitations of the age seemed to meet and culminate in him. With an eagerly inquisitive mind he connected a keenly sensitive heart ; so that what many others treated as mere matter of speculation he seized with his emotions. The agony of doubt through which he had passed made him the friend of all earnest inquirers. The sympathy with which he

entered upon their difficulties brought their struggles near him as if they were his own. In order to aid those who came to him in their struggles for light, he tried to make them conscious of themselves and their needs, in order to awaken whatever of spirituality might be slumbering in them. The heat in his own heart kindled the fire in others. His whole personality seemed to be spiritually alive, and so he had the power of quickening the students who came to him. In reasoning power and in philosophical acumen he was surpassed by many of his contemporaries; but if ever a man wrought the gospel into his personality, and then made that personality tell most effectively for promoting spirituality in others, it was Tholuck.

These four eminent men have gone to their reward, but they still live in the thought of the age and in the hearts of thousands of the best Christian workers of to-day. Through what they were as well as through what they wrote they continue to speak.

The philosopher Fries affirms that reason gradually learns to know the absolute value of reason and the worthiness of the personality. A process of growth is necessary in order that amid the supremacy so often given to things the dignity of the person may be appreciated. Is not this process at work now and does it not inspire hopes for the advance of religious interests? The deepest thought of the age will echo the sentiment of Goethe: "Do what we will, the important thing after all is the personality." And amid the conflicts respecting truth in the abstract, it is becoming more and more evident that the hope of the age is not in the abstractions of truth, but in the Christian truth become Christian personality. Therein is seen the strongest and the most striking evidence of the power of the gospel.¹

¹ As the addresses are not written until after delivery, they are here presented in a somewhat condensed form, the aim being to give the substance of the thought rather than the exact language and all the details.

THE LAST APPEAL IN THEOLOGY.

THEOLOGY is the science of God. It is the arranged and classified knowledge of Divine revelation. The kingdom of God on earth furnishes all the data for this science; whatever this kingdom includes is the legitimate subject-matter for theology.

It is the principle or method of this kingdom according to the parable of our Lord to grow or advance from the mustard seed to the mustard tree.

If there has been an external progress of the kingdom it has been because of its internal progress; for the outward and bodily is not first, but the inward and spiritual. And if there has been internal progress, it is because, and can only be because of a fuller receptivity to *revelation*.

The kingdom grows only as Christ is more largely apprehended; but as He is more and more apprehended, Divine truths are seen in fuller orb. It only remains for theology to fulfill her function, and to arrange and classify what God has given.

Every new stage of theology must be, by the very terms of its genesis, in full and essential accord with all that has gone logically and historically before it. Not, indeed, with all that merely *claims* to have thus preceded the new stage, but all that has, in a true historic process, actually done so, there must of necessity be general accord.

There must always be as much oneness with the old, as in the tree of to-day, which has grown since last year, and is yet the same tree. The science of theology, like the kingdom of heaven, with which it is vitally connected — comes, or has its becoming — not with observation. If the process of increase can be obscured in such way that the juncture is a hard and visibly mechanical one, this is a sign that the increment is not an outgrowth.

There are no spaces in true growth. All its junctures are with the past in closest vital union. There should be no abrupt self-consciousness in the progress, making every new stage an antagonism. If antagonism with the old is felt at every point, it is at least certain that the past and the present, the old and the new, are not produced by the same energy, the same "*nisus formativus*."

In short, the whole order of advance in Christ's kingdom, and therefore the true method of progress in theology, is simply the *process of an expanding germ*, enlarging and spreading out through the vitality of its own inner substance. The Word, which is "spirit and life," shoots forth from simple to complex, from involved to evolved statement, from dense to unfolded truths, from narrower to wider interpretation, from folded to expanded revelation, from swelling bud in the sacred text to waving branch in creed and symbol. All this living, prolific, and exuberant growth, rich in manifold and diverse individual forms, is held within the limitation of one law and one substance. The progress of doctrinal development becomes thus the inner and spiritual life of the kingdom, as the progress of the *church* in the world is its bodily enlargement and its externality.

The one *law* is the law of *spiritual growth* which gives unity to the movement. The one substance which is to be developed is the Divine Word which is spirit and life in the Holy Scriptures, and which gives consubstantiality to all the Divine increments.

These fundamental and necessary principles of progress in the Divine kingdom are found in the parable of the mustard seed not only, but in many other teachings of Christ, where they stand forth with such axiomatic distinctness as to *compel* us to receive them as the necessary, and as it were the *a priori* elements of all progress in theology.

Christian Theology is the result of an endeavor of the Christian mind, by ever-growing, yet ever-accurate interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, secured through the Holy Spirit, in an ever-increasing and profounder receptivity to the Truth, to arrange and classify scientifically all that God has been thus pleased to reveal.

Progress in theology is such progress in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures as such new and increasing receptivity to Divine Revelation may attain and of which it may scientifically arrange the contents.

The question then arises, — a question which is vital to the idea of *growth* as the method of theological progress, — What relation must the new and advanced increment have to the old and original possession?

True progress in theology must conform to the fundamental conceptions of what *organic growth* is known to be.

As the resulting product of any process of *organic growth*, we invariably find that all the new increments have become *unified*. They are brought into oneness, the diverse coalescing in the simple, the new accommodating itself to the original stem, and the higher unity being itself the only basis for a further and expanding product.

As the growth is vital and organic, it is a building up into such an interpenetration of the old with the new, that no observation can distinguish the two internally and say here the old was and there the new began. There is no vacuum between the increments — no juxtaposition of parts with spaces between — no other-ness of substances; but the whole has been assimilated and knit together, as by the weaving of a bioplast into one organism, which, however multifarious in its forms, is yet one substantial essence, a substance which has one *name*, is of one fibre and kind throughout, and is thus homogeneous and single. Such a process alone secures a result to which the term *living* may be applied.

Now that progress in theology *is* such a *living* process we cannot deny without at the same time denying the parable of the mustard seed. And if it is, we are prepared to say what progress in theology is, and what it is not.

We are in a position to declare that whatever is new in theology must organically unite itself with a genetic antecedent or forfeit its claim to be or to hold a part of the original stock.

The advance from the simple statements of the Apostles' Creed to the expanded and scientifically arranged doctrinal developments of the Westminster Confession, reveals in a re-

markable manner the great progress which theology made in a thousand years ; at the same time it shows that the advance was a growth.

The old symbol was ever the necessary antecedent of the new — and this not by antagonism, but by furnishing in a genetic development the foundation upon which each succeeding creed and symbol rested.

As even a wall, in the lower method of a merely mechanical upbuilding, cannot be built by rejecting and tearing down the lower parts, to make way for the new and higher, so in the higher method of living and spiritual increase, the new product of an organism, the new creed-statement of a living church, cannot claim progress except by its alliance with the earlier symbol. For if genuine, it is a *product*, and a product of the original germ. The product would not be the same and harmonious, and the expanded doctrinal statement would not be an integral part of the development, were it not conditioned by the same law of advance, limited by the same subject-matter, and bound up in one indivisible process.

Compare the statement of the doctrine of the Trinity in the *Apostles' Creed* with the same doctrine as it rises into the dizzy heights and lofty conceptions of the *Nicene*, the acute dialectics, like flying buttresses, supporting the threefold mystery in an attitude and form as sublime and manifold as the same doctrine in the former creed was simple and artless. The former creed had no occasion to preserve the doctrine from Dualism on the one hand, or Pantheism on the other. Arius had not yet come. When such occasion did arise, and let it be noted that there *was* an occasion, that which was new and progressive in the later creed was in no respect new by antagonism with or rejection of the old : the old was retained in its entirety.

Progress in theology is progress in a growth. It is the kind of progress which is implied in that living process through which a germ develops from lower to higher forms of manifestation, through the power of an inner life. Externally there is first the blade, then the ear, and afterwards the full corn in the ear ; and this outward progress of the kingdom is the form, of which the progress of doctrine is the essence.

The growth has thus been progress in the development of an *organism*.

The progressive stages have been organic in their relation to all that has preceded them.

The new development is therefore an expansion of the old.

The new movement in theology, by some styled "the New Theology," by some "Progressive Orthodoxy," demands attention in the light of the foregoing remarks. We can see *where* it is; we can examine it and see *what* it is; we can then pass judgment upon it and accept it or reject it, not on grounds of individual opinion, but on grounds of necessary and eternal truth. If it can stand these tests and thus accord with the genetic conception of a progressive theology, it will sooner or later open into the great tide of scientific Christian thought, and mingle its stream with that of the church universal.

If it cannot stand these tests nor make good its accord with the comprehending idea from which these tests are drawn, it will do one of two things: it will gradually fail from out its life and cease to be; or it will, after vain attempts to mingle and mix with the great stream that which is immiscible, find for itself an entirely distinct channel.

If the times now call for expression of opinion as to whether the New Theology can abide these tests, we would say that in our judgment it *cannot*; that the new movement has not justified any claim to be part of an *historic* development: that it stands isolated and aloof, and in antagonism both in spirit and in form, to the growing processes of that great "*mustard tree*" which for eighteen centuries has set before our eyes the only way in which Divine truth unfolds. We will now briefly allude to one or two characteristics of the new movement which show unmistakably the direction which it is taking.

1. The first characteristic which we would criticise is its *vagueness*. In reply to this charge it was said in the first article in the "Andover Review" entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy" that "there may be a vagueness which calls for *spiritual insight rather than for dialectical acuteness*,"¹ that such vagueness may imply an advance, and that this may be a vagueness which is a

¹ *Andover Review*, May, 1885, p. 468.

“theological virtue,” “where it is a twilight from the morning and not a settling down of night.”¹

To this it may be replied that such twilight can be satisfactory only when we have *abundant assurance that it will soon issue in the morning*, or when we are not satisfied to *dwell* in it. The well-known phrase, an “up-clearing,” found in German history of philosophy, means a state of thought the vagueness of which appears satisfactory only because it *does* clear up. It is a state of thought by no means satisfied with that mere and sheer *realism* in which the latest English philosophy and now this theology delight to dwell and abide.

For it is a fact worthy of notice, — though we have not seen that it has been specially noticed, — that while the theology of this movement is German, its philosophy is thoroughly English.

Now English philosophy of the present day is quite satisfied with Realism. To have attained a *real* ground for all things, however indefinite that Reality may be, is all that Mr. Herbert Spencer ever expects to get; yet this is all that this theology claims. It rests just here its *whole* claim, if we may trust its own words. For it would prefer, as an exact designation for the entire movement, “*Real* theology” instead of “New theology.”²

To quote again from the same first article of “Progressive Orthodoxy,” — “The stamp which marks most distinctively and comprehensively the new divinity is Reality.” “It is real because it deals with beings more than with abstractions, with actual processes and their rational contents more than with *a priori* assumptions, with laws of life and organic forces more than with mechanical combinations, with wholes, or parts in their relations to wholes, with things more than with words.”

“Wherever an investigator in the wide domain of knowledge is seeking for, and touching *reality*, he is contributing to this theology.”³

Now anybody who is even half-way familiar with the English agnostic philosophy knows that it also “deals with beings (though they be not personal beings) more than with abstractions;” that this philosophy, also, deals “with actual processes

¹ *And. Rev.*, 1885, p. 469.

² *Ibid.* p. 467.

³ *Ibid.* p. 467.

and their rational contents more than with *a priori* assumptions, with laws of life and organic forces more than with mechanical combinations, with wholes and parts in their relations to wholes, with things more than with words." Nobody would think of denying that the author of the "Data of Ethics" is an "investigator in the wide domain of knowledge, who is seeking and touching reality." He is therefore a contributor to this theology, though not at present to the Review which upholds it. And when the Review adds on the very same page, that "there is a strong bond of sympathy between all such workers, even though the limitation of their labor and the narrowness of human vision may hold them apart," we are constrained to agree with the writers.

Nobody denies that Mr. Spencer attains reality; and a wonderful reality it is too. It is infinite, for all things proceed from it as much as they do from the God of the Bible. What we complain of is that with reality, the finest and thinnest of all our conceptions, he is entirely satisfied.

He even thinks — as appears in his famous discussion with Mr. Frederic Harrison — that there is quite enough in *Reality* for worship and adoration and thus for a basis of religion. But his realism as a basis for religion falls before the keen shafts of his lynx-eyed antagonist. "For Reality," says Mr. Harrison, "even though it become Infinite, yet if it be nothing more, it is an unknown quantity and we cannot worship it. For how should we appear worshipping after this manner: 'O Xⁿ, we adore thee, we worship thee, we give thanks unto thee.'"

The contributors to true theology are then, we say, not those who are simply seeking and touching *reality*, but those who are seeking and touching that reality which the Holy Scriptures reveal.

We believe that the charge of vagueness and of a vagueness which is not hopeful, but on the contrary extremely depressing, can be easily sustained: that most of the books and review articles written in the interest of the new movement are not at all satisfactory in respect to clearness. Increasing clearness is one of the indispensable marks of progress in theology as indeed of every science. An example in point may be here

admitted. Some time since one of the most distinguished philosophers of this country, Dr. Hickok, was listening to the reading aloud of Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God," a work which Professor Allen of Cambridge declares to be the most important contribution of our times to theology. By the time the book was half read the listener begged that the reading might be discontinued, as he positively could make nothing of it.

Now this philosopher and theologian was one who of all others ought most readily to have comprehended the thought of that work if the thought had been clear. To him the most abstruse dialectics of Hegel were familiar as the paths of his garden: his criticisms of the Hegelian philosophy are among the most acute in our language, and will rank with those of Stirling, of Herman, and of Harris. At the same time the work in question is Hegelian to the very marrow. Surely we may call a book vague when it out-Hegels Hegel.

2. A second characteristic which we notice in the new movement is a mistaken view of what constitutes a Christocentric system. The question in regard to a Christocentric system of theology is not so much, "Is Christ made the centre?" as "*How* is He the centre?" For even the rationalist makes Him the centre.

The real question is not, "Are the doctrines arranged about Him as the centre?" but when so arranged *do they tend toward Him or away from Him?* Do they tend toward Him of their own inward energy, or must we hold them there in accordance with a preconception? In other words, are the doctrines *centripetal* or are they *centrifugal*? Take, for example, the doctrine of the Incarnation. If the Incarnation was in order to Redemption, if it was for no other end except the salvation of man from sin, then this doctrine seeks and finds the historic Christ with an inward energy which has behind it the whole force of the Scriptures: the doctrine becomes *centripetal* with reference to Jesus of Nazareth, and nothing can shake it loose. But if the Incarnation was not thus primarily and solely, in design and in fact,—as the "new theology" says it was not,—in order to man's redemption from sin, but was primarily in order to the self-revelation of God the Creator, and only contingently of God

the Redeemer, so that the Incarnation would have taken place even had man not fallen, then the Incarnation as a doctrine does not *necessarily* seek and find its realization in Christ any more than in Buddha. It is only when we know that it was in order "*that the world might not perish*" that God gave his only begotten Son, — it is only when we know that the Lamb was "*slain from the foundation of the world,*" and thus that the Incarnation was eternally designed for this purpose, to deliver man from *sin*, not to deliver him from weakness, but to deliver him from *guilt*, — that the doctrine becomes truly *centripetal*, and by its own inward energy finds its place in Him who died on Calvary.

And as the system of Henry B. Smith has been referred to in "Progressive Orthodoxy," it may be proper to say here that his system was Christocentric in no such sense as that implied. "*Incarnation in order to Redemption*" was the controlling idea of the whole, — God coming in the flesh *for sin*, and *on account* of sin. This, repeated over and over and over again, was the very burden of his theology. There can be but one true conception of a theology with Christ in the centre, and that has long been known; and to change it reminds one of the change in physiology made by Dr. Sganarelle in one of Molière's writings. "There is one thing," said GÉronte, "which strikes me as not quite clear; it is the places you give to the liver and the heart. It seems to me you place them differently from what they are; that the heart is on the left side and the liver on the right side." "Yes," said Sganarelle, "it was so formerly, but we have altered all that, and *now practice medicine in quite a new way.*"

There may be a Christocentric theology where the doctrines will stay arranged about Christ only so long as the preconceptions and speculations of our system hold them there. Christ is in the centre, but the doctrine is centrifugal.

When we and our fellows are no longer at hand to press them toward the Christ, they will fly from him as far as the east is from the west; they will exhale in a subtle pantheism or vanish away forever, and "leave not a rack behind."

But to those who differ with us we would still say, "Brethren,

we are persuaded better things of you, though we thus speak." Though we do not believe that the present form of the new movement will *change*, nor that it will lose its present vagueness in a clearing up which will be definite or in harmony with an historic development; yet we *do* believe that we shall live to see most of those who now welcome it as a new-found stream of life, turn from it when they have examined it and found that it is not a part of that "river the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God." In its stead they will turn to those living currents of thought which ceaselessly and forever pour themselves into the one grand stream of progressive theology, while the mighty swelling and advancing tide of Christian thinking, bearing high upon its bosom the ark of God, will be seen rushing in splendor to its "one far-off Divine event," — "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

Like a mighty army
 Moves the church of God.
 Brothers, we are treading
 Where the saints have trod.
 We are not divided,
 All one body we,
 One in hope and doctrine,
 One in charity.

Meanwhile, what we most need is *love*. Knowledge puffeth up, but love buildeth up — even in theology. Love abideth; but whether there be prophecies they shall fail, whether there be tongues they shall cease, whether there be knowledge it shall vanish away.

Let us remember that in this life we do not see truth face to face, but only reflected, enigmatically, and in a glass.

Our little systems have their day,
 They have their day and cease to be;
 They are but broken lights of Thee,
 And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

WILLIAM RUSSELL SCARRITT.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMAN.

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES BEFORE THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, METROPOLITAN
OPERA HOUSE, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 19-23, 1888.

ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD.

THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

As President of the World's W. C. T. U., I have already sent out to every nation the purposes and plans of that society, and there is now no speech or language where its voice is not heard. With Mrs. Leavitt on her way to Africa, after planting the W. C. T. U. in India, Australia, China, and Japan; Mary B. Willard and Mrs. Dr. Stuckenberg devoted to our cause at the capital of Germany, in Madame Meyjerheim and Charlotte Gray in Scandinavia, and a W. C. T. U. organized in the world's wine centre and metropolis, the city of Paris itself; with Alaska explored, thanks to the enterprise of Miss Ackerman; Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and the United States thickly planted with our White Ribbon Societies, we may well wonder at what God hath wrought in fourteen years from the whirlwind of the Women's Temperance Crusade.

I wish this convention would call upon the executive committee for a special report on our relations to the World's W. C. T. U., and also to the National Council of Women, and I hope that we may become definitely auxiliary to both. There are two women whom I believe should visit Great Britain in 1889, and they are Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, American Secretary of the World's W. C. T. U., and Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, our Superintendent of Scientific Temperance Education. Then, at brief intervals, I would send out Westward Mrs. M. B. Reese of the Puget Sound District, Miss Ackerman of California, and Mrs. Moots of Michigan, the first to Japan, the

second to Mexico and South America, the third to Hawaii, Australia, and Ceylon. All of these will be almost wholly self-supporting, as Mrs. Leavitt's has been. Meanwhile I would like to see Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant, the foremost speaker among Englishwomen, make a tour of the United States and Canada with the White Cross and White Shield as her theme, going thence on the trip around the world. Judging from the popularity of Mrs. Chant when here, I am confident that she too would be practically self-supporting. Dear sisters, our field is the world, every brain an open furrow, every word a seed sown for the coming harvest. Our world's petition wends its widening way, and is fast becoming the greatest of modern polyglots. Samples of it return to me printed in every language, and foreign to my eyes as the tracing of Jack Frost upon a window pane, but my heart thrills as I remember that always its wording is the same:

Honored Rulers, Representatives, and Brothers:—We, your petitioners, although belonging to the physically weaker sex, are strong of heart to love our homes, our native land, and the world's family of nations. We know that clear brains and pure hearts make honest lives and happy homes, and that by these the nations prosper, and the time is brought nearer when the world shall be at peace. We know that indulgence in alcohol and opium, and in other vices which disgrace our social life, makes misery for all the world, and most of all for us and for our children. We know that stimulants and opiates are sold under legal guarantees which make the governments partners in the traffic, by accepting as revenue a portion of the profits, and we know with shame that they are often forced by treaty upon populations, either ignorant or unwilling. We know that the law might do much, now left undone, to raise the moral tone of society and render vice difficult. We have no power to prevent these great iniquities beneath which the whole world groans, but you have power to redeem the honor of the nations from an indefensible complicity. We therefore come to you with the united voices of representative women of every land, beseeching you to raise the standard of the law to that of Christian morals, to strip away the safeguards and sanctions of the State from the drink traffic and the opium trade, and to protect our homes by the total prohibition of these curses of civilization throughout all the territory over which your government extends.

This splendid federation of all the women's societies engaged in temperance and social purity work around the globe will do for temperance what the International Council of Women, with Millicent Fawcett at its head, hopes to do for women everywhere. The best experts and wisest methods will, by means of it, become known to all nations; the curse of the Congo will feel the grip of white ribbon influence; extradition treaties will be brought to bear against alcohol, and for the home's protection; good influences will be thrown around adventurous sons and daughters far from home by letters from one white ribbon group to another at the antipodes, and the miracle of our noon-day prayer will belt the whole great earth with benedictions.

Australia demonstrates the higher tone of her more modern civilization by holding a Temperance convention to celebrate the centennial of her first colony. How far we are behind that thought is demonstrated by the different character of our own great centennial, at which brewers and distillers had front rank among exhibits of our "national industries." Perhaps the fact that four W. C. T. U. women are on the executive committee of the Australian celebration may help to account for its high character. The opening day is November 19, at Melbourne, and I hope this convention will send sisterly greeting to Hon. James Munro, the presiding officer.

PEACE AND ARBITRATION.

President McGill, of Swarthmore College, is the first educator to introduce the study of Peace and Arbitration. I believe he has set a noble example, and that our ethical text-book should include a careful study of these great themes.

The platform of the Prohibition party declares that "Arbitration is the Christian, wise, and economic method of settling national differences." Here, as in all things else, the society of the White Ribbon is in accord with the party of the White Rose. Poisonous drinks crazing the brains of legislators precipitated the Civil War; so said one of our most famous generals, never noted as a special pleader for the temperance cause. No movement means so much as ours for peace. The race brain is now so deeply leavened with gentle thoughts, that when normal

and calm, the purpose of shedding human blood is most repugnant to it. No evolution of work was surer than that which led to the formation of our Peace Department, with a Secretary selected from the Society of Friends, Mrs. Hannah Bailey, of Winthrop, Maine, who has already sent out literature and speakers to acquaint our auxiliaries with our plans of work among the children and with the press. We have also a powerful friend in Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, the philanthropist, who is devoted to the strategic work of spreading far and wide the interest of the people in a World's Court of Arbitration as a substitute for war, and who believes that woman's hand may carry the white flag of truce between camps otherwise belligerent, and may, by wise and systematic action, help to lay firm foundations for a Universal Republic — a Brotherhood and Sisterhood wide as the world. About four months ago the following concurrent resolution was unanimously adopted by the United States Senate : —

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President be, and he is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peacefully adjusted by such means.

This was subsequently reconsidered because it was ascertained that a senator desired to speak upon the subject; but, as it was adopted unanimously, I am assured by Senator Blair that the only question is on the concurrence of the House of Representatives. This is the longest step forward ever taken by any government, and I hope a petition, signed by every delegate here, will be sent to Washington on our behalf without delay, praying for the concurrence of the House. Congress has also passed a bill authorizing an International Convention at Washington, with representatives from North, Central, and South America, the object being "to consider and agree upon measures for the promotion of peace and amity among nations." Now, a woman, Queen Victoria, put down the barbarous custom of dueling in

England; a woman, the Princess Regent, freed the slaves of Brazil; women are everywhere the conservators of peace and good will; let us ask for the appointment of a woman — Elizabeth Thompson — as one of the ten commissioners to be designated by the President of the United States.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE EDUCATION.

I think our most urgent duty now is to enlist the interest of the teachers in the enforcement of our Scientific Temperance Education laws.

For forms of government let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best.

The personality of teachers is the final factor in education, and we have yet to gain the hearty good-will of this fraternity for the study and practice of hygiene.

I wish our gifted leader in this department, Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, with the prestige of all her splendid victories, might make a specialty of impressing, through pen as well as voice, her own wise enthusiasm upon state conventions of teachers, normal schools, and national associations of superintendents as well as teachers, emphasizing the duty and privilege of the teacher to so present the scientific, moral, and financial side of intemperance as to influence for life those under her care. We need also, and especially, to reach the physicians of all communities, so that their practice may confirm the teachings of the school.

Concerning the present status of the text-book question, I have the following facts: —

Mrs. Hunt has revised three books for Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., one for high schools, and has offered them the indorsement for high advanced classes in common schools. She has revised a book for intermediate schools for the same firm, writing herself all the temperance matter, which was more than one fourth of the book. This book is now in the hands of the printers, and she is daily reading proof for it. At the present rate of progress it will be out in less than a month. She has revised a primary book for the same firm, rewriting much, as well as adding whole chapters of new matter. This whole series will be ready for the public within a few weeks.

She has revised, for Ivison, Blakeman & Co., New York, one of the Smith books, for intermediate grades, herself writing more than one fourth of the book. The revision of two other books for this firm is now in hand, and in an interview which I had with them the other day, they stated that they did not wish to issue the books separately, but will wait until the whole series is ready.

Mrs. Hunt has also revised, for Leach, Shewell & Sanborn, Brand's primary work. It is now in the hands of the publishers. As soon as she can reach it she will take up the larger work of Brand, published by the same firm.

She has also revised a new book by Professor Chas. H. Stowell, of Ann Arbor, and is now reading proof of same. She is also now at work upon books published by Harper and by Appleton.

HEART CULTURE IN OUR SCHOOLS.

The new movement for the study of the Bible, as the finest of English classics, introducing it into colleges and seminaries of the highest grade, is full of possibilities for Christian progress and development. The marvel is that Christian scholars should ever have permitted the heathen classics to outrank the psalms of David, the visions of Isaiah, and the wonderful philosophy of the four gospels. But something else needs to be done on the same line and must become universal before we can fairly call ourselves other than a practically pagan republic. This is the teaching of those principles of ethics that are found in the Scriptures and questioned by no sane mind, whether Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant. No general movement toward making our great public school system an ethical system has yet been inaugurated except by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and this kingdom of heaven has come to the children of the land, as its wont is, "not by observation," but so quietly that our people hardly know the good thing that has happened to them. There are probably millions of Christian people who are not aware that in thirty-three States and Territories the white ribbon women have secured laws making obligatory the instruction of all the children in scientific temperance

with special reference to the effect of alcohol and narcotics upon the human system, and that a part of this legislation was secured from Congress and makes this teaching obligatory at West Point, Annapolis, and wherever the United States pay money for public instruction. While not avowedly, this is practically ethical teaching, proceeding upon the principle that God's laws written in our members are to be sacredly obeyed, and that in obedience to them there is great reward. Indeed, the broader study of hygiene, which is but another name for the religion of the body, has come into our public school system by this channel, for it is explicitly provided that this scientific temperance instruction shall be given in connection with the study of physiology and hygiene, and the first text-book for the little A B C darians in the lowest grade is called the "Child's Primer of Health." Now here is a basis to go upon, a foundation thoroughly well laid; and the effort of good women everywhere should be to secure the introduction of a text-book of right living; one that should teach the reasons for the social code of good manners, every particular of which is based on the golden rule, and those refinements of behavior which involve the utmost kindness to the animal creation, including the organization of bands of mercy in all our public schools. All this is sure to come, and that right speedily, as a consequence of the awakened interest of women everywhere in the subject of education and their increasing power along these lines. The time will come when it will be told as a relic of our primitive barbarism that children were taught the list of prepositions and the names of the rivers of Thibet, but were not taught the wonderful laws on which their own bodily happiness is based, and the humanities by which they could live in peace and good will with those about them. The time will come when, whatever we do not teach, we shall teach ethics as the foundation of every form of culture, and the "faith that makes faithful" in every relation of life will become a thing of knowledge to the child of the then truly Christian republic. For we can never teach these things and leave out Christ as the central figure, and his philosophy as the central fact of our system of education. At the same time, our teaching must be as far removed from any-

thing sectarian or involving the statement of a creed as the north star is from the southern cross. There will be no trouble in those days about opening school with such extracts from the Bible as have been agreed upon by men and women of all faiths, and the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, with its universal benignities, will be a matter of course. It is for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to work on quietly to this end, without haste, without rest. I wish we might at this convention appoint a committee representing all religious faiths, authorizing through it the preparation of a series of ethical text-books, teaching (1) The Religion of the Body, (2) of the Brain, (3) of the Heart, (4) Religion of the State, by which I mean the principles of peace and patriotism. I suggest that we counsel together as to the members of such committees, order the books brought out by our own publishing association, and introduce them into such schools as we can influence. If the plan works well it will prove its utility and pave the way for a more general movement. These text-books should be taught in all grades, and should have as their basic thought and universal motto, "Peace, Growth, Brotherhood."

Let us have a national pledge against all stimulants and narcotics. The word beer should be used in our national pledge instead of malt liquors, as being more direct and more educational against the beverage we have most steadily to fight.

We ought to encourage the multiplication of first-class temperance hotels, and to "lend them our influence" whenever possible. A "W. C. T. U. hotel" in town or city would be a guarantee of comfort and fair-dealing, and in almost every case would yield a margin for our work.

HOMES FOR ADULT INCAPABLES.

More than once I have urged on your attention the importance of homes for adult incapables, among whom should certainly be classed confirmed inebriates and victims of the tobacco, opium, and chloral habits. Their number is legion, their lives are an unspeakable burden to themselves and all connected with them, and their conduct wears out valuable lives that could be far better utilized. Let the State take them as her wards, and by

putting them where they cannot get the poisons to which they are devoted, let her redeem their time, turn their days to good from evil, keep them at work enough to bear their own financial weight, and give them thus their one hope of restoration, or if they cannot be restored, owing to congenital weakness or weakness so confirmed through appetite as to be chronic, let them remain for life and come to usefulness and happiness a thousand-fold greater here than would be possible to them outside. This seems to me the missing link in work for the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes, and I urge you to appoint a woman who may become our Dorothea Dix, on a new field and in a reform as much needed now as insane hospitals were in her day.

POLITICAL PROHIBITION.

From a leading expert whom I consulted on this subject I have the following testimony: "Nothing is more needed than the power forcibly to detain, for their own good, the victims of alcohol, nicotine, chloral, and kindred poisons. At present no such right is given to us in law."

It is hard to be patient with those who are still in the A B's of total abstinence, when you are away over in the polysyllables of prohibition and its derivatives; but we were all there once, and it is a very hopeful place in the temperance spelling book. Let us possess our souls in patience till the storm be overpast, confident that those who begin where we began, with personal prohibition, will at a day not distant see that national prohibition is the necessary sequel of the law they have made unto themselves, on the principle that what is morally wrong can never be legally right; what is legally wrong can never be politically right, and that, as our grand Mary Lathrap says, a new issue can only enter the temple of law through the portal of politics. Parties are controlled externally by majorities, but internally by that element within them that is most inclined to bolt. The liquor element in the old parties keeps them both feverish and uncertain in their movements. The temperance reform requires a party that is calm of pulse, sober and steadfast of purpose, and whose members would bolt on any issue under the sun sooner than on that of prohibition.

In 1840, in the State of Maine, there were twenty-nine townships, in which just one man voted all alone for the incipient and despised party that twenty years later and under a different name elected its candidate for President. In 1844, when the tariff was the fetich, as it is now, Professor Taylor of Yale College said: "If two devils are candidates I must vote for the lesser of the two," and ministers preached, as some do now, the solemn duty of voting for a man who is likely to be elected, as against an issue that you are determined to elect.

The two candidates now leading the largest hosts have both explicitly declared themselves opposed to prohibition, and yet both will poll the votes of an army of saloon keepers and an army of saints. This one unchallenged fact shows that the times are out of joint and that a reassorting of the voters is imperative. A great writer has said: "It is impossible to license crime by halves; impossible to authorize injustice at all and hope to regulate the measure of it." The truth of these words is clear as sunlight. But in the great State of New York this is just what Warner Miller proposes to do, and claims credit for proposing, though a Methodist and member of the General Conference recently held in this great auditorium, where he approved and applauded the declaration that the liquor traffic "cannot be legalized without sin." Sooner than temporize like this, let the minions of that accursed business elect their candidates, and so fill up the measure of their wrath, while Christians say, "This is your hour and the power of darkness," for a resurrection will follow speedily upon that night wherein the Star of Truth will be revealed to thousands of well-meaning men now dazed by the glittering sophistries of party leaders who are fighting desperately in the last ditch to retrieve their irretrievable defeat.

A widow brought her petition to the King of Macedon. He denied it, and she said, "But I appeal." "To whom can you appeal?" he cried in wrath. She answered quietly, "From Philip drunk to Philip sober!"

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to-day maligned and vilified by one party at the North and another at the South, in the blind rage of these crisis hours, gently and quietly pro-

ceeds to take an appeal, not to the King of Macedon, but to Old King Majority, and to Old Father Time.

Meanwhile out of white roses :

A wreath, twine a wreath for the loyal and true,
Who for sake of the many dare stand with the few.

Many lugubrious prophecies have been put forth concerning the results of our righteous partisanship, but none of them have come to anything more substantial than their own melancholy echoes. We are the only Temperance Society that has specifically declared its loyalty to the Prohibition party, and we are to-day the strongest and most successful society in Christendom. Our Women's Temperance Publication Association outranks all others except the chief Prohibition party paper itself, "The Voice," our powerful friend and ally. We said we would print sixty million pages this year — one for every resident of the United States — we have printed over that number (60,272,000). Our cash receipts this year are \$129,740.75, or \$42,293.75 in excess of last year, and our employees number ninety, with constant growth in all departments. Our official organ, "The Union Signal," is fast climbing to an edition of fifty thousand per week. Our National W. C. T. U., which, during the first eight of its fourteen years' duration averaged but a thousand dollars per year, received last year about \$11,100, and has this year \$21,081.59.

New York, perhaps the most partisan of all our State Unions, has the largest membership of any State — over twenty-one thousand. Pennsylvania, which has a large partisan minority, comes next, and Illinois, the pioneer partisan State of all, ranks third. No State is overwhelmingly non-partisan save Iowa, and while we all rejoice in its prosperity, there is hardly a State that does not make as good a showing of increase in membership, in dues, and all that goes to prove substantial growth.

To-day our National W. C. T. U., while recognizing the liberty of each State to be partisan or not, as it elects, is practically partisan, with exceptions so small that they but prove the beauty of the rule. Rhode Island and California have fallen into line this year by large majorities, but with these two States the relations of the National W. C. T. U. have always

been most pleasant, notwithstanding our difference of opinion upon one vital issue.

Whenever such relations prove difficult of maintenance with any State auxiliary, I solemnly believe we should go on the even tenor of our way, opposing sweet reasonableness to severe epithet, and serenely confident in the immortal truth of great Gamaliel's words: "For if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

A gentle and dignified denial of any wrong intent toward any of our number, and a reiteration of what has always been our policy, and which was stated in these words by our national convention of 1887, will amply cover every case that can arise:—

No State Union shall be bound by any principle espoused, or plan devised, by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, except that all States auxiliary must subscribe to the total abstinence pledge and to the Constitution of the National Union.

Our non-partisan sisters often recur to the non-sectarian basis of our movement as an overmastering reason why we should not declare ourselves in favor of the party that declares for the home. But this is clearly an analogy that will not bear analysis; a proof that proves too much.

The churches of this nation have cradled the temperance reform; the parties, nationally, have stifled it; the churches are the homes in which we have been nurtured as temperance reformers; the Republican party in Congress has, according to the testimony of the brewers themselves, done all for them that they have asked, while the Democratic party openly espouses the interests of the liquor traffic; the churches are the strongest supporters of the movement for prohibition both in law and politics; the two old parties are its greatest obstacle. The very same reasons that render it consistent for us to recruit our membership from all the churches and declare specifically for none, should lead us to recruit all the members that we can for the Prohibition party and "lend our influence" for its success. The liquor dealers know that a triangle of forces is fast surrounding them, and that it is composed of the churches on one side,

the Woman's Christian Temperance Union on another, and on the third, of the "Third Party."

WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE BALLOT.

The Lawrence (Kan.) "Journal" thus sums up the result of the women's vote: —

The following points our Eastern friends should consider settled by the recent municipal elections in Kansas: —

1. Prohibition has come to stay in Kansas. The last stave in the whiskey-keg has been broken in by granting suffrage to women in the cities.

2. Contrary to the general expectation, the good women do vote, and their votes are cast as their conscience and judgment dictate; they take a deep interest in political questions, and in a few years all intelligent and good women will gladly vote. With them it will be a matter of duty, and woman always does her duty. If good men always did their duty, the vote of the women would not be so much needed at the polls.

3. The women vote independently — more independently of party than the men. They cast their own votes. If in accord with those of their husbands or brothers, it is well; if not, the vote goes in all the same, as they choose to have it.

4. Woman's municipal suffrage in Kansas has guaranteed the nomination of good men on both tickets. The *personnel* of candidates in the future is to be vastly improved. The personality of the candidate is very closely analyzed by the female voter.

5. The vote of women does something more than to increase the vote. It is not the rule of multiplication and amplification simply, but that of permutation as well, and finally a proper equation is deduced.

6. The revolting and disgusting scenes formerly witnessed at the polls are greatly mitigated, and many of the evils and corrupting influences are finally and completely exorcised.

7. The experiment can be fairly classed as a success. The vote of the future will be a more thoughtful, considerate, and intelligent vote. It will be a more conscientious vote, and it will be a vote cast for better men than formerly.

English women have this year gained the county franchise; French statesmen are speaking out in favor of the movement, and although voted down in Italy, it had a strong affirmative minority.

The first mention of the ballot in any party platform since the world began was at Columbus, Ohio, in 1872, when the Prohibition party held its first nominating convention, and adopted without a dissenting voice the following noble declaration: —

The right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of color, race, former social condition, sex, or nationality, but where in the nature of man, and when from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens of our country who are of suitable age, and mentally and morally qualified for the discharge of its duties, it should be speedily restored by the people in their sovereign capacity.

As Miss Cleveland eloquently says: —

I dare affirm that the American mother who to-day, being pressed on every side by the aggressions of King Alcohol, confronts American men — the infant in her arms her only sceptre, the motherhood upon her brow her only crown, and cries to them for protection of her kingdom, the home, carries in her cry an argument.

That argument has prevailed with the coming party, to which we are devoted, and the Home Protection ballot is a watch-word sacred to Prohibitionists as to white ribboners. Retreating from the outposts of old-time argument, based on the inherent inferiority of women, our opponents now intrench themselves in this reply to female suffragists: "They that will not fight, neither shall they vote." But if ever there was a last ditch, this is the one, for when in all history did any controversy divide any people along sex lines? When Eve started a rebellion Adam immediately joined it; when Ananias falsified the returns Sapphira followed him; Deborah had her Barak; and St. Paul his Phebe; men and women have "paired off" in every great movement since the world began, and always will. From the mother of the Gracchi to the mother of Neal Dow, women have always been part and parcel, not only of all that great men are, but of all that they achieve. Whatever side any body of warriors may take, there will be women not a few to join them.

While Susan B. Anthony stands up for our cause in the convention, John Stuart Mill, in the library, writes the most convincing book on women's rights that the world has ever seen;

the Prohibition party pledges its faith to the cause of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union ; every Darby has his Joan, and by the laws of nature and of God there can never be a war between the sexes, save now and then, in the retirement of the family circle, a war of words.

Whatever side of any question gains most women as its supporters will, ere long, gain most men ; laws for the conservation of the home will always gain most women, ergo, they will in the long run gain most men.

WOMEN IN THE CHURCH.

I wish that we might here state with all considerateness, but fearless honesty, our position on the mighty question of woman in the church. But as I have already said, women are, if possible, even more to blame than men that they are so discounted in church as well as state at this late day. A majority of men in this country and age have so far outgrown the ignorant notion of their Divine right to rule over women, that if we had but the courage of conviction, and that sense of dignity that ought to mark us as daughters of the Lord Almighty, men would, within a twelvemonth, seat us beside themselves upon the throne of government in church and state, ruling the world jointly, as He meant they should, when, as the Bible says, "He gave to *them* dominion."

Truly we have what we take the most pains for, and women must be up and doing if they expect the coöperation and fealty of men in politics, ecclesiastical or secular. It also seems to me we should, at this convention, provide for White Ribbon Deaconesses to be trained in our Evangelistic Department, taught to be skilled nurses at our National Temperance Hospital, and employed by our local unions in preaching, teaching, and visiting the sick and poor. I am confident that there are men of the best standing in the pulpit, who will not hesitate to set them apart to this sacred office and ministry, in accordance with the custom of the early church. There are thousands of women, young and old, whose hearts the Lord hath touched and who would rejoice to find a vocation so sacred and so full of help within the sheltering fold of the W. C. T. U.

She spoke of justice, truth, and love,
 How soft her words distilled ;
 She spoke of God, and all the place
 Was with his presence filled.

Of how many a sweet soul within our borders those words are true ! What hindereth that they be set apart with every guarantee and safeguard that can emphasize their gospel ministry ? Of them how long has it been said as of Christ's early servants, " the people magnified them," and " the common people heard them gladly."

Rev. Dr. Black, of Mississippi, says in his new book : —

The office of deaconess formed a part of the machinery of the church for many centuries. The deaconess received ordination by the imposition of hands. The ordination ritual is given in the Apostolical Constitutions, from which we extract the following prayer of the officiating bishop : —

" Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of man and of woman, thou who didst fill with thy spirit Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, and Huldah, thou who didst vouchsafe to a woman the birth of thy only begotten Son, thou who didst in the tabernacle, and in the temple, place female keepers of thy holy gates, look down now also upon this thy handmaid, and bestow on her the Holy Ghost, that she may worthily perform the work committed to her, to thy honor and the glory of Christ."

What a practical element these Deaconesses would introduce into religion. Doubtless, in early days, when the conflict was between idolatry and the worship of God, " Divine service " may have rightly consisted largely in sermon, song, and prayer, but to call that " service " now — as is universally done — seems to me a mockery. That is a delight, a coveted and blessed means of growth ; but " service " now is to our fellow-men, and he whose purse and work are not invested there knows nothing about " Divine service," and might well name his place of Sunday lounging and æsthetics the " Church of Divine Emptiness," or the " Church of the Celestial Sugar Plum."

What the world most needs is mothering, and most of all in the spirit's natural home, the church, and on the Sabbath Day. It needs the tender sweetness of the alto voice, the jubilant

good-will of the soprano, in sermon as in psalm; tenor and bass become monotonous at last, and the full diapason of power and inspiration is impossible unless we listen to the full chorus of humanity. God hasten that great chorus, in church and state alike, with its deep-hearted love and its celestial hope!

Rev. Dr. Alfred A. Wright, of Cambridge, Mass., is with us in our efforts to enlarge and strengthen our evangelistic work. He came last year to Nashville, Tenn., without expense to us, and gave instruction to many of our Bible students, as he will do this year. He is in conference with our Superintendent of Evangelistic Work, and will coöperate with us henceforth, I hope, in that department. A brilliant scholar, a devoted Christian, and a completed prohibitionist, Dean Wright, who stands at the head of the Chautauqua School of Theology, is, with Bishop Fallows, Rev. Dr. Townsend, Rev. Dr. Bristol, Dr. Talmage, Joseph Cook, and a host of other men, great as they are good, a devout believer in the exegetical as well as the ecclesiastical emancipation of women.

In a recent sermon at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, Mrs. J. F. Willing, who presided over our first National W. C. T. U. Convention, made the following conclusive answer to popular objections to women in the pulpit:—

Again we hear the question, "But why should the daughters prophesy?" It is said that they are too weak. Weak in what? In physical endurance? Every woman who stands at the head of a family has endured enough to kill a half-dozen men. In voice? You can hear the soprano as far again as you can the bass. In will? It has passed into a proverb, "When a woman will, she will, and you may depend on it." In reason? Any candid man will tell you that when he has toiled up the stairs of his argument, he finds a woman at the top. She seems to have cleared the flight at a bound; but we know it is only her quick way of putting this and that together. Her rapid reasoning has watched the conclusion, far ahead of him with his more clumsy methods. Weak in scholarship? How does it happen that women bear off so many of the prizes of our colleges and universities? Weak in spiritual perceptions? Two of them follow Christ where one man becomes his disciple. But this poor, heathenish old world calls them weak. Then they have the best chance of success, for God hath chosen the weak things *of the world* to confound the things that are mighty.

IMPROVED SUNDAY LAWS.

The following personal pledge I hereby take (works of necessity and mercy always excepted), and I urge all my dear comrades to do the same, not only as a religious observance, but in the interest of the wage-workers who, to the number of a million and a half, or one in every eight families, are deprived of their rest day largely through the inconsiderateness of the Christian public.

**SABBATH OBSERVANCE PLEDGE, RECOMMENDED BY THE
NATIONAL W. C. T. U.**

I AGREE

- I. To observe the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship.
- II. To neither purchase nor patronize Sunday newspapers.
- III. To use my influence by word and example, against railroad and steamboat travel and excursions.
- IV. Not to patronize any store, barber shop, news stand, drug store (except for medicine), bakery, or any other place of unnecessary work on the Sabbath, and to use my influence to close them.
- V. Not to send or call for mail on the Sabbath.
- VI. To make the Sabbath work at home as light and simple as possible, that all may enjoy the privileges of the day.
- VII. To use my influence for legislation that will protect the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship.

NAME.....

Over four million petitioners have asked Congress for a law prohibiting Sunday trains, etc., and before many years the church and the wage-workers will win what would, perhaps, have required a generation to have achieved but for their joining hands. I hope there will be a special vote of urgency on this subject, and that we shall make it the specialty of specialties for three months after election.

WOMEN AND SOCIETY.

Once the business of well-to-do women was society. What did that mean? That the be-all and end-all was to dress in

fashion, dance a minuet with stateliness, preside at a dinner of several hours' duration with mastership, and so on. Now, to be sure, there are large circles of women to whom the *decolleté* dress, whirling waltz, progressive euchre party, and box at the theatre, are the world's chief charm. But the spell of this sort of life is broken. The special inclosure known as "society" grows smaller and less fascinating to the great many-sided world of women. Christianity is emancipating us, and showing us so many other things to do. Women more gifted, cultured, and rich than these who give themselves wholly to society, devote themselves nowadays to things they find so much more worthy of them, that "society women" have become a subdivision, quite clearly marked, of the real womanhood that has a broad, free life and outlook on the world. Just as in the early days, one who did not take wine was almost ostracized, but is now respectfully regarded and even praised, so "not to be in society" is no longer a mark of singularity, but a "differentiation from the type" that is clearly recognized and held in high esteem. Perhaps "society" itself will pass away. Who knows? One feels like saying this below one's breath, and yet, *who knows?* There are so many better things to do than to sit for two hours as devotees around the stomachic altar of a dinner table, or to spin in a waltz, taking attitudes elsewhere indecent or intolerable. But society dissected down to the marrow yields but these two spectacles, and these two will pass away. Banish wine from the dinner, dancing from the "evening entertainment," and "society" with its late hours and indigestions would ere long collapse. Nothing is surer than that wine is to be banished, and that with the growing uplift and dignity of womanhood, dancing, and the outrageous mode of dress that goes along with it, will one day be held as a mere relic of barbarism. That was a prophetic innovation at the White House when our gracious Mrs. Hayes replaced the dinner with its wine glasses by the stately and elegant reception. Perhaps while men rule the state, in their government "of the minority, by the minority, for the minority," its highest expression will still be the dinner table with its clinking glasses and plenty of tobacco smoke afterward, but when men and women both come into the kingdom

for the glad new times that hasten to be here, the gustatory nerve will be dethroned once and for evermore.

The blossoming of women into deeds of philanthropy gives us a hint of the truer forms of society that are to come. Emerson said: "We descend to meet," because he claims that we are on a higher plane when alone with God and Nature. But this need not be so. Doubtless in the outworn and stereotyped forms of society, where material pleasures still hold sway, we do "descend to meet," but when a philanthropic purpose determines our companionships and leads to our convenings, then we climb together into purer and more vital air. The "coming women"—nay, the women who have come, have learned the loveliest meanings of the word "society." Indeed, some of us like to call it "comradeship" instead, this interchange of highest thought and tenderest aspiration, in which the sense of selfhood is diminished and the sense of otherhood increased.

But our social purity work contemplates as its highest object the harmonization of men and women in one circle of worth, work, and winsomeness. Why do they now so poorly comprehend each other? Largely because their daily interests are so largely separate; their occupations, friendships, pleasures are so wide apart; their themes of mutual conversation few; their worlds not worlds that intersphere but only touch. Hence come class dinners even in co-education schools, from which women are ruled out. The wine-glass and cigar have an accursed spell to separate women from men. The physical conditions they induce, and the themes to which they tend, are foreign to the purity of woman's habitudes. The modern club is the home's rival in the circles of the rich as is the saloon in circles of the poor. Indeed, man in the home has had as yet but the faintest evolution, and yet home has already done more for man than for any other member of its favored constituency. It is his special humanizer; the garden where his choicest virtues grow. Man's heart is lonesome often, and the feeling does him honor, for his lonesomeness is always for the home that was, but is not, or else that is not, but that ought to be or to have been.

When the White Cross gospel shall have been embosomed in young manhood's life for one blessed generation, the sanctities of fatherhood will be seen to exceed all others to which a manly spirit can attain in this state of existence, and the malarious dream of wicked self-indulgence will slowly but surely give place to the sacred self-restraint which waits to crown with all good fairies' gifts the little life which noble love alone may dare invoke.

Then comes the statelier Eden back to men,
Then reign the world's great bridals chaste and calm,
Then springs the Crowning Race of humankind.

INSTITUTES OF HEREDITY.

REPORT BY MARY WEEKS BURNETT, M. D., OF CHICAGO.

There has been an immense increase in the distribution of literature in this department the past year. Nearly two million of pages have been sent out by the national and state superintendents. Much of this has been distributed by the W. C. T. U. at fairs, expositions, conventions, and mass meetings. The "Journal of Heredity," edited by Dr. Burnett, has a wide and increasing circulation, and is making the study of heredity tendencies more and more popular. Mothers' meetings have been made an especial feature of local work. Medical and legal societies have discussed the subject from their various standpoints. The Medical Legal Society of New York has during the past year, by bringing out the opinions of medical and legal specialists in inebriety, advanced the cause of prohibition among scientists to a marked degree.

Composite photography promises to become under this department of great scientific value in recording the changes in the type of our American people as it is brought about by race crossing, climatic changes, and education, physical and mental. Institutes of heredity have been held and vast numbers of lectures and sermons delivered and newspaper articles printed. Family records are now being prepared that each family may have its own valuable store of heredity facts, and a system of school district records is also in course of preparation, which

will provide for a record of a few of the good points in each child's ancestral history.

The United States government has made heredity, as seen in animals, bees, etc., a part of the work of the Department of Agriculture in Illinois. It is to be hoped other States will follow in this line.

The department of heredity has a vital interest in securing better divorce laws, and in the enfranchisement of women; also in securing laws for the prevention of the propagation of the vagrant and criminal classes, and is moving slowly but surely along these lines.

We have also in the interest of scientific heredity begun to study into the importance of *faculty culture* as a means of developing the greatest physical and mental resources of each individual from early childhood.

Reports from Canada, England, Scotland, France, Germany, Russia, Scandinavia, and China indicate that in each of these countries heredity literature is reaching the minds and consciences of the people.

PROGRESS OF WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMAN.

SPEECH BY MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

Never before has there been so large a representative gathering of the W. C. T. U., for we are here from every State and Territory of the Union from Maine to Santa Barbara, from British Columbia to the Gulf. Canada comes here and shakes hands with Alaska. The women of the South, who go every spring to decorate the graves of their boys in gray who fell fighting for the cause that we opposed, sit side by side with the women of the North, whose boys in blue have made the South billowy with their graves, and they join hands and are not afraid to call each other sisters. [Applause.] The memories of the past are thus sanctified. We are now organized in a new conflict which has no lesser object than the redemption of our native land from the thralldom of strong drink. I confess to you that I, who do not attend the national gatherings generally, only on very rare occasions — my age and my many duties absolve me from that — I confess to you that I am amazed beyond power of expression at the marvelous growth and the wonderful development of this organization. I thought I knew it all. I imagined I had kept pace with it all. But the very last national convention that I attended I kept my eye not on the women delegates, but on the men in the galleries, who buried their faces in their handkerchiefs at the parliamentary blunders that were made on the platform

and in the body of the house. Laugh now, gentlemen, if you can find occasion [applause], for the women who sit as delegates here are so well up in parliamentary law that they dare even pick up their President—if she makes the slightest trip in the world, determined that she shall not be in the least faulty. Notice the magnitude of our operations, the extent of our plans, the wonderful way in which the sinews of war are possessed by the women, the increase of money, the magnificence of the great outlook, and all the while, the tenderness of feeling, the high courtesy, the great regard that women have for each other, being sobered and tempered by sharp criticism from without. This is a good thing for women to meet—I never deprecate it: they need it; it is the only way in which you can temper fine steel by putting it through the fire. And so I am not in the least sorry when we women have to go through the fire. All the better by and by. And we are made of such stuff that we go through almost every fiery furnace and come out as did the three worthies, Faith, Hope, and Charity, without so much as the smell of fire upon us. [Applause.]

When we began the work of our organization, the first thing that was at our hand was the reformation of the drunkard. We entered upon it. We organized reform clubs. We established friendly inns. We endeavored in every possible way to pick up the fallen, and how superbly the saloons helped us in that way? They called us noble Christian women; they gave us money; they gave us recognition; that was a work they approved of; for after we had the man washed, and sobered, and in his right mind once more, he was a better patron over and over again for the saloon, for he had a little more money in his pocket than before we took him in hand. We found after a while this was not the way that effectually helped us, and so we turned out for some other way, and began to look out for the enforcing of the law. We visited the legislatures—the executive power—and we did our utmost to bring out by entreaty to legislatures due enforcement of the law. Pretty soon we found the laws were ineffectual; that they were not adapted to the emergencies. Then we went to work to have new laws framed. We got the best bills we could drafted and sent to the legislature; we lobbied them through, and after that, they were not enforced. If a prohibitory law was passed by one legislature it was repealed by the next. If a law with some special sharp point went through successfully, the very next legislature would take all the point out and there we were again floored. Then we began to hear about constitutional prohibitory amendments that would stay for ten or twenty years; and the next thing, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of Iowa, inaugurated the work in that State, put herself at the head of the women of Iowa, and in a large measure of Iowa men, and although none of us believed she was to be successful, the whole thing went through as she had told us it would do, by thirty thousand majority.

All honor to her for the great push she gave us and for the opening of our eyes, for out of that has come everything we have done since. Immediately, all over the country, ran the movement for constitutional prohibitory amendments. Kansas has passed one, Maine has passed one, and

though the statutory law has been such as to compel it to be operative, it is not operative as it should be in any of the States where it has been passed with the sole exception of Kansas. In Kansas, because the men who passed that amendment, and they Republicans, let me give them all credit, because they were earnest and desirous that their amendment should be operative, indignant that they were worsted in the battle, they called to their help their reserves, the women, and gave to them the right to vote, and said, "Now it is your fight as much as it is ours; now help us and help yourselves." A man not believing in the movement, either of prohibition or of suffrage, has said to me that it is the truth, Kansas is a State where prohibition prohibits. So it has come out at last, step by step, we learning by stumbling and making mistakes, that at last we are where we are, standing on the platform of complete prohibition, endeavoring to make wise public sentiment as we go. In every State of the Union we are doing our utmost to help on the cause. [Applause.]

Our brothers are carrying the banner, and when they were wearied, tormented to death with broken promises, again and again believing what was promised them, only to find that they were again mocked, they started out and organized a party of their own. What was there left for us to do, since in both existing parties the liquor interest had its advocates; what was there left for us but to shake hands with these brave men? Some of us were loath to leave the old party, were attached to it, married into it, our sons born to it, we having been present when the Republican party was born, loving it; and when I love once I love forever. [Applause.] I never get over it. [Applause.] I hung on hoping against hope, praying, entreating, and at last was almost driven out. I had to go. If some of us have been slow in adopting this platform, we may and probably shall make up by the earnestness of our work in the future, and by the help and sympathy that we shall give to this cause hereafter. A few members of the Union do not believe this, and they would deny it if I would let them speak, which I will not — [applause] — they will get here themselves by and by. [Applause.] I am not a prophet, but when I look back upon myself I am quite ready to think anybody will come. [Applause.]

I am also astonished and delighted at the perfect equipment of the W. C. T. U. of to-day. This may seem strange to you; it has seemed strange to me. But it was necessary to come here, to hear the reports and see the women, in order to comprehend it all. And then, with the rest, we are superbly led. [Applause.] No other great organization of women has the president we have. [Applause.] Past the first freshness of her youth, she is broader and wider than when I first knew her. And though we are some of us so old that we have given as many years to the work of reform as our President has lived, when in the beginning she began to inaugurate movements that seemed a little audacious, stepping out where before no woman leader had ever dared to tread, if we held back a little, if we doubted and remonstrated, sent letters to her which she received sweetly and kindly, thanking us for them, and saying, "I will try to profit by your suggestions,"

if we had doubted before, we cast away then all reserve, all doubt and hesitation. And I, for one, wonder where she has learned her broad statesmanship, where she has got her outlook down the great vistas of the future. [Applause.] For as I listen I find that there is not a great moral question casting its shadow athwart our future, that this woman, nearly twenty years younger than myself, has not made herself perfectly familiar with it, does not know the whole of it, is not prepared to take it up and go on with it. And so I thank God for her, and will make up for my doubt and for my misgiving and for my hesitancy to follow her, by keeping close to her hereafter, just as long as she lives. [Applause.]

And dear sisters, it is something for us older women whose heads are whitening, who see the dark river but a little way off, who see the low gateway that will swing outward soon for us, as it does for every human being, and never inward, who behold the gleam of the shining city on the other side, who sometimes hear the soft voices calling there and almost catch the glimpse of the white hands beckoning, you cannot guess what exaltation we feel when we see those who will enter into the victory which we only saw by the eye of faith.

There was a temple in ancient Greece in which Phidias had built a marvellous statue of gold and ivory; the temple was too large for the statue, and whoever looked at it could see clearly that if this statue had the power to erect itself and throw out its hands, it would lift the roof and throw down the walls with its arms. Such a statue is the genius of American liberty; such a statue is the genius of our blessed Christianity, and both are erecting themselves. The roof is being lifted, the walls about us are tottering to their fall, the great light which dazzles our dim eyes is streaming in upon us. As Miss Willard said this morning, among all the wonderful discoveries of the last fifty years, the most wonderful is that made by woman, who has discovered herself. I thank God that this great spirit of Christianity and liberty is lifting woman up to the heights of the measure of her brothers.

When we read Tacitus, we get the first glimpse of the early Anglo-Saxon. He says the Anglo-Saxons never decided any grave matter without consulting their women. Some future Tacitus not yet born, writing of this new redeemed Anglo-Saxon that is yet to come, shall say more strongly, that these people are enacting the laws of their fathers. And never a grave question did they act upon till they had consulted their women, and weighed, with that of the men, the advice that they gave. That is the trend of the time to-day; and so, dear friends, though I may never attend another W. C. T. U. Convention, for I see you are going to keep in the West, I thank God for this hour, for the revelations to my eyes, and for the great hope which has not been inspired by this gathering, but which has been deepened and intensified by it into actual vision. [Great applause.]

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE EDUCATION.

REPORT BY MRS. MARY H. HUNT.

Twenty-five legislatures, besides the national government, have made scientific temperance a compulsory school study in their respective States and Territories, covering more than two thirds of our population. Estimating our school population at 18,000,000, two thirds would be 12,000,000 children — our future majorities. It is our duty to see that every one of these has the temperance education these laws demand.

Louisiana and Ohio are the last additions to these States. Louisiana's example in passing one of the strongest temperance education laws yet enacted, sure to be followed by other Southern States, is cause for special gratitude.

Thirteen States yet lack this legislation. Three of these — New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois, are north, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee are south of the Potomac. To these we repeat, Do not take a less stringent statute than Vermont's or Louisiana's. Better try again than to get an easily evaded law. We must soon urge amendment of weaker laws.

The peril from imperfect text-books has every prospect of being averted. Four years' protest and the Great Petition to publishers result in their consenting to bring these books to right standards. The work of their revision devolves largely upon the National Superintendent of this Department. Heartfelt thanks are returned to all in and out of the W. C. T. U. who, during the trying text-book conflict, have loyally stood for the truth, in condemning imperfect text-books and demanding better ones. Every denial of unjust aspersion upon our motives, every criticism of unworthy books and commendation of better ones has hastened these revisions. Publishers who, better understanding the movement, are now coöperating with us in securing worthy temperance text-books, also merit our thanks. Remembering the debt of gratitude we owe A. S. Barnes & Co., who published for us when no one else would, and expecting no better books than the "Pathfinder" series, to which we pledge our continued support, we rejoice in the prospect of having other series to which we can extend a like indorsement.

Nearly five twelfths of the children of school-age in our country lack any means of education. This an appropriation from the surplus wealth in our National Treasury would supply. The Blair bill providing this is still pending in the Congressional House Committee on Education. Its passage is essential to the preservation of the republic. God helping, we will continue to work and pray until this money is granted and a common school education, including scientific temperance, is provided for every child in the republic.

WHITE SLAVES IN WISCONSIN DENS OF INFAMY.

SPEECH OF MRS. DR. K. C. BUSHNELL.

On a careful investigation of some fifty-nine or sixty of those northern dens, both of the ordinary sort and the stockaded kind, and of the histories

of some five hundred and seventy-seven cases of degraded women, many of whom I conversed with, and concerning all of whom I got reliable information, I can only say this morning that there is a condition of things existing in Northern Wisconsin as much worse than ordinary slavery as being forced into a life of shame is worse than being forced into a life of industry. But the real difficulties in the way are not just the obstacles of which we have heard, or at least they do not seem to me to have been represented in our newspapers just as they are. We all know the accounts of enforced confinement in those dens of degradation. It is true that there are some features of the subject not as terrible as represented in the amount of force applied in these cases; but upon the other hand there is a connivance of officials, and an aiding of the enslavement of young girls by the officials of Northern Wisconsin that goes beyond anything that any man feels as though he dared publish in print, because it would cause such a vast amount of trouble. I can tell you of one instance where the chief of police of a city, and I have abundant evidence to prove it, was the means of entrapping two young women and sending them North. I could give you innumerable instances of perfectly innocent girls entrapped and taken to those Northern regions. I could tell you instances of girls escaping from their terrible life to be taken back by the local officials of the town, and immured in their horrible dens again. I could tell you of instances where girls have tried in vain to escape, and have taken their lives, and I bless them that they were noble enough to do it. [Applause.] I could tell you of one well authenticated case where a young girl escaped from one of those terrible places and tried vainly to run down the street to the heart of the city to get somebody to protect her. A railroad train came past just as she was crossing the track and her pursuers after her. In her desperation she sprang before the train, and then off on the other side barely escaping, and her pursuers did not dare to run such a risk as this; in that way she made a little time while they were waiting for the train to pass, and got a block beyond them in the very heart of that city, and this girl escaping in this way was carrying in her two hands a heavy ball that was fastened by a chain to her ankles. [Sensation.] In the heart of that city almost, she was caught and dragged back into that den, and there was not sentiment enough in that town on the part of those who knew of it to go and rescue her, and God knows whether she is living there yet or not.

These atrocities are committed against the womanhood of our country. All the den-keepers without exception are either foreigners or of foreign extraction, and have not long been in this country. When these foreigners of the North work as they do for the enslavement of our American girls, and nearly all of these girls, so far as I know, are American born and bred, what shall we say of this condition of things? Shall we allow it to exist? [Voices: No, No!] God help every one of us to rise in her might, and cry day and night to the God of Justice to avenge us over our adversaries! [Applause.]

THE RESULT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

A few days since I had a call by a Western gentleman who felt great concern at what he considered the probable future of prohibition, as the result of the late election. What reason have you for fear? I asked him.

I expected important results from the conscience-vote, he replied, and consequently a larger increase of our vote beyond that of 1884. I thought we should have at least 500,000 votes. The great Methodist body throughout the country had taken very strong ground against the liquor traffic in all its branches, and against every political party by which the traffic was supported, and in favor of all political influences against it. The influential Presbyterian body had done the same thing in nearly the same terms, and I confidently expected important results at the ballot-box from these and other religious influences in the same direction. I thought the issue at the polls, so far as prohibition was concerned, was so plain that there could be no mistake about it; but now it seems to me that the majority of the people have decided, for the time, at least, that the liquor traffic shall not be prohibited, but shall have legal support, protection, and perpetuation.

I think you have not fully considered, I answered, all the influences which led to the result. Before the message of Mr. Cleveland on the surplus and the method of reducing it, it was generally conceded throughout the country, that his reelection was assured. In that message, he gave the Republicans an opportunity to raise the cry of protection as against free trade. The message afforded no fair justification for this, but the Republicans seized the chance eagerly, and with wonderful activity and persistence succeeded in making a great many people believe that free trade, as against protection to our own industries, was really the issue before the country, and that the business of the country would be thrown into convulsions unless

the Republican party should be placed once more at the head of affairs.

Temperance men and Prohibitionists throughout the country are business men ; they are not office seekers, nor politicians ; they accepted the earnest, solemn declarations of Republican politicians as true, and being manufacturers and men engaged in all branches of business, they were misled into supposing that not only their own pecuniary interests were exposed to great danger from the overthrow of the protective system, but that those of the entire country were liable to the same disaster. You and I saw, as 300,000 of us did, that all this cry about free trade was simply to befog and befool the people, but for all that, it had its share, and a large share, in the result.

Yes, I understand all that, my friend answered ; but the fact remains, that prohibition to the liquor traffic, or its perpetuation, was so clearly involved in the election, that Christian voters could not fail to see it ; yet as a body they supported the parties which exist only by permission of the liquor interest, and consequently are its humble servants, ready and willing to do its bidding.

I have not a word to say by way of excuse for them, I replied ; to their own master these men stand or fall. But this is to be considered : all the great commercial papers of the country were strongly, some of them savagely, opposed to prohibition, and especially to the Prohibition party. Many of these papers are conducted by honorable men — at least they are such in everything but politics — they were vehement in denouncing Prohibitionists as fanatics who have not sense enough to see that their methods are the height of folly, tending exactly to retard the coming of prohibition, if not to destroy all chances for its success. Even the most honorable of them stigmatized us as base conspirators with leaders of the Democratic party for no other purpose than to overthrow the Republican party, and held the Prohibition party up to public scorn and contempt as “an annex” of the Democratic party, “playing second fiddle” to it for an unworthy object. The most respectable Republican papers in the country persistently declared that the campaign expenses of the Prohibition party were paid from

Democratic funds, as doing effective Democratic work, and one of the most able and influential of these asserted this, as of its own knowledge. Chairman Dickie pledged himself to pay \$5,000 if that paper would produce any honest proof of that assertion ; but no justification of the charge has been offered, nor has this honorable, honest, able paper, made any apology for its *mistake*. But these falsehoods, though plainly malicious, had their effect, no doubt, upon many persons, and seriously affected the result.

The Republican leaders published a campaign paper in New York purporting to be Democratic, owned and published by Democrats in the interest only of that party. This paper was made to praise the Prohibition party as doing yeoman service in Democratic interests, and urging Democrats to support it to the utmost of their power. The Republican National Committee caused to be printed in St. Louis, in the German language, appeals to the beer-men, the personal-liberty men of that and other nationalities, proving to them that their principles, personal habits and interests, and those of the brewers and distillers, would be far safer in Republican than in Democratic hands. These publications were sent out in great numbers from the Republican national headquarters in New York. This work was intended to be done secretly, as was the publication of the pretended Democratic paper in New York ; indeed, it was impudently denied at first that the Republican National Committee was responsible for it ; but the fact was fixed upon them, by the enterprise and activity of "The Voice," one of whose reporters most skillfully brought to light and publicly exposed this campaign trick, which if any other party were guilty of it would be stigmatized as dishonest.

Yes, my friend said, I fully appreciate the influence that all this must have upon the result. I suppose there has never been an election in the country before this, where campaign work was carried on upon so large a scale, and where, in the North, such unscrupulous methods were resorted to to carry it, as the Republicans adopted, more largely, it is said, than did the Democrats. But all this does not at all clear up, in my mind, the fact that the great mass of Christian voters turned their backs upon their convictions and contributed to the utmost of their power

to give legal protection, support, and perpetuity to the liquor traffic, which they profess to believe to be a greater scourge to the country and a greater hindrance to the gospel and to all church work, than all other sources of evil combined. It is this that discourages me more than all else, because I have thought that the deliverance of the country from the liquor curse must chiefly depend upon the church. The Republican party is largely made up of the intelligence, education, culture, and virtue of the country, and I thought these elements of it could not be led to support the policy of the party, which is now to give legal protection to the liquor traffic.

I do not see in this any great mystery, I answered ; nor do I feel it to be a cause of discouragement. We have no reason whatever for this ; on the contrary, I consider the final triumph of our contention assured ; it is only a question of time, when the saloon must go. The most and the worst that can come from the result of the late election as I regard it is this, that our battle which we hoped to win this year must be fought over again four years hence ; but then, our power will be greatly increased, as I believe, and our number so large that there can be no doubt of the result. In looking for the reason of our disappointment in the failure of the conscience-vote to help us as much as we had a right to expect, we should remember that the so-called religious press was almost a unit on what we call the rum side. The New York "Witness" was boldly, bravely, unequivocally on our side. It is, *par excellence*, a religious paper, with no tinsel, no spangles, no glittering fringes, no compromise with evil or with sin about it. It can always be relied upon as thoroughly for the right, and in this election it did not falter, and would not for a moment entertain any apology for the continued existence of the grog-shop, no matter what political or personal interests might suggest it. If there is any other religious paper in the country for which this can be said, I should like to know its name and place.

The Republican cry was for High License, especially in New York. It was boldly but falsely affirmed that this policy would be a temperance measure by restricting and regulating the traffic, which it has never done and can never do ; and tem-

perance men were appealed to vehemently to support it on the ground that, prohibition being impossible, it was the best policy and the only one in the interest of temperance that could be carried. The religious papers generally, the ablest and best of them, were active in urging these considerations upon their readers: that high license ought to be adopted as the best and wisest thing under the circumstances, and that a refusal to accept it was unreasonable and foolish. The high license cry was made very prominent and forceful in New York, the entire Republican press urging it to the utmost of its power, and if this was not done under false pretenses, I would like to be corrected in my belief that it was so.

Warner Miller, the Republican candidate for governor of New York, is said to be a moral man, possessing the respect of the people very largely. He is, besides this, a prominent Methodist of high standing in the church. He was very active in campaign work, his particular rôle being that of temperance advocate, that is, advocating and urging high license as in itself a good and wise temperance measure. Those who heard or read his speeches did not know that all the time he had an *arrière-pensée*, a mental reservation, which, by his own confession, is shown to have been the case. We thought him honestly working for temperance as he understood it, as well as in the general interests of the Republican party. But that was not his real purpose, as I quote it from the New York "Tribune" of the 14th. November. . . . "I told my wife that I believed it possible to keep down the Prohibition vote, and thereby save the State for General Harrison. I started in *with that object in view*. It was accomplished. Last year the Prohibition vote in this State was 40,000, an increase of over 15,000 above St. John's vote in 1884. . . . In all probability they would have polled upward of 50,000 in this State, had no temperance issue been made. That or much less than that would have given Cleveland the State. But polling, as they did, less than 30,000 votes, gave us the State."

Mr. Miller said his object was to keep down the Prohibition vote and thereby save the State for General Harrison. This he published to the world *after* the election, the Prohibition vote

having in fact been — somehow — kept down. Mr. Miller said nothing about *this* object of his to the masses of people whom he addressed at public meetings, but he strove to make them believe that he and the Republican party were earnestly opposed to the saloon as a tremendous public mischief. But there was another and quite different object of his, which he elaborated before the people. I quote from him again. "The saloon is a monstrous evil, and I mean that its power shall be broken. *This is the meaning of my campaign. This is my object.* I would rather be defeated than let go *that* object." If he had honestly told the people that his object was to keep down the Prohibition vote, would he have succeeded? No. He told them a very different story; it was to break the power of the saloon.

I do not here and now complain of this as a duplicity, as an attempt to befog and befool the people, nor as unfair or dishonorable — in politics. I refer to it only to show what the methods were by which the Prohibition vote was kept down below the 50,000 which we confidently expected to obtain in New York, which, if our hopes had been realized, would have brought us four years nearer to the day of our triumph, would have saved us four years of hard, continuous work and four years of great loss to the nation and four years of misery, wretchedness, and crime to the people. It was the beer and whiskey vote which put Mr. Hill again into the governor's chair, and it was the same vote, put into another box, which gave the State to General Harrison. Governor Hill was a good enough man for the liquor sellers as governor, but Mr. Cleveland was not good enough for them as president. They would not trust him, but were sure of General Harrison.

' Yes, my friend said, I understand all that, but my disappointment and chagrin remain, that Christian voters should miss the opportunity by which they could easily have delivered the nation from the sin, shame, crime, and curse of the liquor traffic; that they should thoughtlessly, to use the gentlest term, give all their influence, in this case preponderant, to perpetuate a system which, year by year, and every year, inflicts upon the country "more and greater evils than come from war, pestilence, and famine combined." I am sure that the church, of itself,

has the power to turn the tide of battle against this gigantic crime, and in a year, I had almost said in a day, to drive the liquor traffic to the wall, and, with its mighty spear, to pin it there.

Yes, I replied, what you say is quite true, and the question must soon arise as to the expediency of bringing the church face to face with its terrible responsibility, and forcing upon it the decision whether it will meet its duty boldly, in the love and fear of God, or whether, as a body, it will continue to evade it, not to say shirk it. Have you considered what will be the position of the Republican party at the next Presidential election? This will be the situation, as it seems to me. Its victory at the recent election turned upon three points: 1. Its success in persuading the liquor interest that it would be sure of protection, support, and perpetuation in Republican hands. 2. Its success in befogging and befooling a large body of Prohibitionists, leading them to believe that it was honestly in favor of temperance and prohibition. 3. Its success in persuading a great many men, who otherwise would have voted our ticket, that by the defeat of the Republican party there would be great injury to the industries of the country, when, in fact, there was no danger in that direction.

The Republican party is so bound by its affiliation with the grog-shops that it cannot, if it would, do anything adverse to their interests. It cannot put upon the statute-books any enactment disapproved by its powerful allies, the makers and venders of alcoholic liquors. At the late election the party leaders were successful in holding a very large part of the liquor dealers, and, at the same time, by Mr. Miller's showing, a sufficient number of Prohibitionists, to save the Republican party from defeat. In 1892 this part must be played once more successfully, or the party must fail. I do not believe that any considerable part of the Prohibition voters, after an experience of four years of the subservience of the party to the liquor interests, can be again befogged and befooled. In 1892, I think, we may reasonably hope that the church, as a body, will be found on the Lord's side in this great "warfare between heaven and hell," in which case our victory will be immediate and triumphant.

NEAL DOW.

BOOK NOTICES.

YALE LECTURES ON THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL. By HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, D. D. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles. 1888. 8vo. Pp. 415.

This book is composed of ten lectures delivered before the Yale Divinity School in the Lyman Beecher Lectureship. It has been well said that the Sunday-school cause never had before so high a pedestal. Dr. Trumbull has the peculiar and happy faculty of treating his various subjects in such a scholarly manner that the erudite must be his readers, and at the same time in such a popular style that the great army of Sabbath-school workers can comprehend and enjoy and be greatly profited by his words.

The most remarkable feature of the book is the freshness of the material brought forth at a time when it had seemed impossible to produce anything new on the subject of the Sabbath-school. Strange to say, this freshness is much of it not newness, but rather a bringing to view again of things so ancient that they have been largely overlooked or forgotten. In the first chapter, particularly, one is reminded of the vivid colors seen on ancient temples as they are unearthed from the ashes and débris in which they have been buried for centuries. The author tells us, quoting from the Rabbis, that "Methusaleh was a teacher of the Mishna before the Flood; and that after the Deluge, Shem and Eber had a House of Instruction where the Holacha was studied; that Abraham was a student of the Torah, when he was three years old, and that he was afterwards under the teaching of Melchizedek in matters concerning the priesthood; that young Jacob as a good boy did go to the Bible school, while Esau as a bad boy did not; that Dinah, the daughter of Jacob came to grief, through playing truant from the Bible school, while her brothers were in attendance there; that among the pupils of Moses in his great Bible school were his father-in-law Jethro and young Joshua, and that the latter was preferred above the sons of Moses, because of his greater zeal and fidelity in the Bible school exercises; that the victory of Deborah and Barak reopened the schools for Bible study, which had been closed by the Canaanites; that Samuel conducted Bible schools in the days of Elisha and beyond; that wicked King Ahaz had the Bible schools closed in order to exterminate the religion of Moses; that good King Hezekiah, on the other hand, not only fostered the Bible school system, but personally bore his own children to receive instruction in one of these schools; and finally that the prophecy of Haggai concerning the greater glory of the second temple had reference to the Bible teaching which was to be carried on there, and which by means of the synagogues and Bible schools was to be extended near and far." In copious foot-notes

Dr. Trumbull gives reference to the various Targums from which these statements are gleaned. He characterizes these statements as "fanciful traditions," but at the same time says that they "show the estimation in which the Bible school was held by the Rabbis." Still further proof of the high estimate put upon the schools is the fact that a godly Jew was forbidden to live in a community where there was no Bible school. The destruction of Jerusalem, according to the Talmud, is accounted for because these schools were there neglected. The manner of conducting these Jewish Bible schools is vividly described. They were held tri-weekly, the more elementary, daily; they were large in size, included the young, as well as the older persons, among its pupils; classes were composed of about twenty-five members; the methods of teaching were of the very best. "The idea of attempting to instruct passive hearers by the teachers' continuous discourse does not seem to have entered the acute Jewish mind. That was a later seduction of the Adversary." The qualifications of a good teacher were: "He will not be in haste to reply; he will ask only fitting questions; he will give suitable answers; he will answer the first thing first, and the last thing last; and he will candidly confess the limits of his knowledge." The work done in the schools was to be so thorough, that the pupils should at length become so familiar with the laws that they could repeat them more easily than their own names.

Most interesting facts are brought out in tracing the varying progress of the Sabbath-school through seventeen centuries, that is, from the opening of the Christian era to the time of Robert Raikes. It is stated that "the Apostolic Church made the school the connecting link between itself and the world." The opposition of Julian and of Celsus is described, as well as the interesting labors of Origen, Clement, Augustine, and Gregory; and later, the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Lollards, and the Hussites are noted as having adhered closely to the Bible school idea. Coming down to a still later period, it is said of Luther that he saw the need of a system of Bible schools in the new Protestant world, as plainly as Simon ben Shetach saw the need in the ancient Jewish world (80 to 70 B. C.). Dr. Trumbull thinks that the reason why the Reformation failed to accomplish more completely the overthrow of Rome, was that it did not more fully carry out the idea of indoctrinating the children, while Rome gained a new life when the Jesuits established religious schools for the young. And in this course the Roman Catholic Church has been most persistent up to the present time. But recently a Roman Catholic priest said to a Protestant clergyman, "What a poor foolish people are you Protestants! You leave the children until they are grown up, possessed of the devil; then you go at the work of reclaiming them with horse, foot, and dragoons. We Catholics, on the other hand, know that the children are plastic as clay in our hands, and we quietly devote ourselves first to them. When they are well instructed and trained, we have little fear as to their future." The rise (and shall we say "fall?") of the Catechism is described. Dr. Trumbull says: "A primary cause of the decline of the Sunday-school

work in Protestant Churches generally, after the new prominence given to it by the Reformers, seems to rest in the widespread perversion of the very means designed for its prosecution," — referring to the Catechism. He claims that "Catechism using stood in the way of catechetical teaching; the stepping-stone becoming a stumbling block."

In the chapter devoted to the "Modern Revival and Expansion of Sunday-schools" all honor is given to Robert Raikes. Not only this, but to the modern Sunday-school movement is attributed the English system of public school education, penny postage in Great Britain, the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society, of the London Missionary Society in 1795, and of the Church Missionary Society in 1799.

The growth of the modern Sunday-school is shown by the statement that while at the beginning of the century there were but a few hundreds in its membership, there are now between eight and ten millions within evangelical Protestant Churches alone, or nearly one fifth of the population of the United States.

Perhaps the strongest chapter in the book is that devoted to the Influence of the Sunday-school upon the Family. At the very outset, Dr. Trumbull combats the statement which has become current, that the modern Sunday-school has destroyed home religious instruction. He says: "The family was the first agency ordained of God for the religious training of the race, and it stood alone as an agency for that work until the Flood. But the family, by itself, so far failed of filling its place, and of accomplishing its mission, that God chooses to say that it repented Him that He had made man, and He swept the race from being, save a single household, which He spared to bridge over the chasm of destruction. And when God began anew with a peculiar people, He gave to his church a measure of the responsibility of the family, as previously imposed on it. And from that time onward one of the chiefest duties of parents has been to secure to their children the teachings of the church school, as well as of the home." In England, where the idea prevailed more in the past than now that the Sunday-school is for the poor and neglected children alone, while children of the "better class" should receive their religious instruction in the family, the failure to carry out this plan is evidenced by Hannah More's statement that when Sir Joshua Reynolds painted his now famous picture of the child Samuel, the "better class" of visitors were continually asking, "Who is this child Samuel?" Dr. Trumbull says that for thirty years he has given this subject of religion in families "close attention with a wide and varied field of observation." He gives the following statement as his conclusion of the whole matter: "I believe that whatever we have in America of satisfactory home religious instruction is largely due to the Sunday-school; and that one existing lack in this direction, in the home, is to be reached and supplied through a wise use, and a wise improving of the Sunday-school, as the divinely appointed complement of the family for the religious teaching of the young."

That family religious teaching did prevail before it was destroyed by the

modern Sunday-school could hardly be maintained by one who reads the extracts given by Dr. Trumbull from the sermons and addresses of Dr. Cotton Mather, the Reverend and Renowned Samuel Willard, Rev. Samuel Torrey, Dr. Lyman Beecher, and others, all of whom lament the grievous neglect of family worship. Sabbath-school workers who have so often heard the neglect in the home charged upon the Sabbath-school will feel greatly strengthened and reinforced by the array of facts which Dr. Trumbull gives to the contrary.

Still another serious charge has been made against the Sabbath-school, that it takes the place of the church service for the children. There is certainly a danger here — a danger which many Sabbath-school workers and pastors are trying to overcome; and so the last two chapters in Dr. Trumbull's book, on "Preaching to Children," must prove to be timely and helpful to pastors who really have a desire to reach and interest the young. When the children are made to feel that they are expected at the church service, and are brought in by classes to seats definitely assigned, and when they are given some share in the service, they will attend gladly.

MRS. WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

THE SPIRIT OF BEAUTY: Essays Scientific and *Æsthetic*. By HENRY W. PARKER, D. D., Stone Professor of Natural History in Iowa College. New York: John B. Alden. 1888. Pp. 252.

The production of small books on great subjects has not ceased. An Iowa naturalist has here made a notable addition to their number. We agree with many critics of Dr. Parker's richly-freighted little volume that few recent issues of the press in this country have been so crowded with thought and learning, compacted with such skill, and clothed with so tasteful a dress. The writers who have for a while had it their own way in discrediting our great regal ideas by assigning to them a mean origin, here meet their equal in extensive and minute knowledge, and their superior in æsthetic judgment, in philosophical insight and in candor.

"The one pervading thought of this volume," so opens the last essay, "is the high significance of man and of nature." The writers who are criticised would lower our estimate of both by "the figments of brute reason and taste." Professor Parker won his spurs in authorship long ago by remarkable articles on "A Natural Theology of Art," and "Ornament in Nature and Art" in the "North American Review," under the rare editorial management of Dr. A. P. Peabody. Parts of those articles are here given. The new essays will only increase his reputation for scholarship, acuteness, power of convincing statement, and highly cultivated taste. They all show one form of poetic gift in the quick, delicate, and searching appreciation of analogies. They illustrate the relations of poetry and reasoning in a most interesting way. Tersely put statements abound. Thus in the paper which is slightest in structure, — "Lessons of Crystals" — are the following: —

"It is incredible that nature should endow itself with its wonderful properties." "It is the implicit obedience of every molecule to law that gives

us any crystal at all." "Even under crystallogenic law there is an almost infinite variety of product, as if variety were sought, were loved." "Good resolutions are not worth much if they do not come from re-solutions." "Error and wickedness give a false importance, or even occasional seeming greatness to men."

In other essays are thoughts like these: "It is life itself, rather than an instinct, to make and create." "Sin is the only thing that sunders any effect from the First Cause." "The world will be disfigured at first, but it will be transfigured at last." "The universe is not simply a gallery of paintings for our diversion; it is a great school of design, of industry, and of holiness, for the development of souls." "Every spectator looks upon a rainbow that is all his own; yet it is the same great object of vision to all." "An animal has all the elements of reasoning or none." "The Divine calm of clearest consciousness and reason is not a ganglionic hurly-burly."

The distinguishing thing about this delightful volume, to thinkers who take it in its deepest import is its keen and thorough protest against recent attempts to philosophize away what is real in our higher intellectual and moral processes. The materialistic evolutionists have never been subjected to a more searching exposure. "An induction," it is said, "as scientific and far wider, higher, and deeper than of organic evolution, establishes a Divine intelligence." "No one can anticipate the historic development of doctrine, but we may be sure that evolution will be rid of the absurd philosophical extensions, the psychological, ethical, and æsthetical tails of the present tadpole stage. And it may be well to remember that in nature larval forms are sometimes much bigger than the mature." "The manufacture of reason and of conscience and æsthetic faculty, in and out of animals, is like such arts as the making of factitious butter out of animal refuse; it is psychological oleomargarine." "On the whole the time has not yet come to worship bee or beetle as creator of beauty and to wear the sacred scarabæus as a signet ring."

GEORGE F. MAGOUN.

MODERN CITIES AND THEIR RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS. By SAMUEL LANE LOOMIS, with an Introduction by Rev. JOSIAH STRONG, D. D. New York: The Baker and Taylor Company. 1887. 12mo. Pp. 219.

Reformers of large foresight, like Wendell Phillips and Victor Hugo, began half a century ago a discussion of the perils arising in modern civilization from the growth of great cities and of municipal misrule. The topic is a vast and urgent one. It has never had the treatment its merits deserve. The Rev. Mr. Loomis's book and Dr. Strong's Introduction are incisive, weighty, and timely. The volume is pervaded everywhere by an alert, practical, aggressive Christian spirit. No better book has been issued in English on the subject since Thomas Chalmers published his "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," and gave to the world the prophetic results of his famous work in founding the West Port Territorial church and in excavating the slums in the worst quarter of Edinburgh.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY MISS WILLARD AND DR. KATE C. BUSHNELL.

52. *What are the unexaggerated facts concerning the imprisonment and slavery of American girls in dens of infamy in the lumber woods of Wisconsin?*

In reply to our questions, Miss Willard sends us the following article, as containing a thoroughly trustworthy account of almost unreportable horrors now existing in certain dens of infamy, managed chiefly by foreigners in the vast lumber woods in northern Wisconsin. The article is a condensation of the remarkable report of Dr. Kate C. Bushnell, who recently spent four months in the investigation of these atrocities. The condensation was made by Miss Eva C. Griffith, editor of "The True Ideal," published at Whitewater, Wisconsin, for the November number of that periodical. Communications received by OUR DAY from the Rev. Mr. Puddefoot, the well-known, eloquent friend of Home Missions, substantiate Dr. Bushnell's report in outline and detail.

WISCONSIN'S SHAME.

For some years past conflicting stories have come to the ears of the public, concerning the iniquity going on in the northern woods of Wisconsin. Sensational reports have been published from time to time in the daily papers, and these reports promptly contradicted by high officials and by the respectable people of the communities in which these iniquities exist.

Satisfied with neither of these statements, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Wisconsin, and also of the nation, sent Dr. Kate C. Bushnell, our national Evangelist of the Social Purity department, to the northern woods last summer to make a thorough investigation.

The object of these investigations was not to refute the stories told by reporters, nor yet to secure evidence for prosecutions in a court of justice, but rather to collect carefully evidence of the truth, for the use of a philanthropic society. Dr. Bushnell's first work was to examine the report given, and the work done by the detective sent out by the governor of our State. She found that this man was not a professional detective, but a janitor of one of the apartments of the State House at Madison. On being questioned, this man acknowledged that he had never visited but one den, that of Mike Leahy, near Marinette, and on being still further questioned, showed such little knowledge of the locality as to create strong doubts of his having ever visited that part of the country at all.

He referred her, for further facts, to Richard Pethrie of Milwaukee. On questioning this man, Dr. Bushnell learned that he had never been North, but had obtained his information from degraded women and men.

As the evidence of these same women would hardly be taken in court, to bring a dive-keeper to justice, why should it be accepted when it whitewashes the character of a den-keeper? Again, if the word of a degraded woman cannot be believed, what shall we say of the word of a degraded man? This detective confessedly obtained much of his information from men who frequented these places.

After having thoroughly questioned these men, Dr. Bushnell proceeded to the northern woods, to visit these places in person and satisfy herself by sight as well as sound, if the terrible wrongs of which she had heard really existed.

She began her work in May and continued it four months. She was aided in her work by the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions on the grounds, by ministers of the gospel and other Christian people. She visited or examined from the outside fifty-nine dens, not nearly all she heard about, and estimated from what she saw that five hundred and seventy-five women were confined therein.

All cases she examined were as recent as one year, and she took personal evidence in each, trusting to no hearsay accounts of sensational incidents. Nearly all of the dens visited she found surrounded by a high board fence, or stockade, one of which she measured with a carpenter's rule, and found to be eight feet high.

She came away with the growing conviction in her mind that there are *hundreds* of girls confined in our northern woods in a slavery as much worse than the slavery of the south, as a forced life of shame can be worse than a forced life of industry.

In her report to the National Convention of the W. C. T. U., she offers a series of propositions, stating under each the evidence she had obtained to prove them. We have not space in our present paper for the entire report, but will content ourselves with giving the propositions and a few items under each.

I. There exists in Northern Wisconsin a system of iniquity controlled by capitalists, whose object is to make money out of the degradation of women.

Here and there are small houses, independent of the system, but the majority of these places are in the hands of shrewd business men. Large fortunes are made from small capital; the proprietors take advantage of the "previous chaste character" clause in our laws, and often have innocent girls arrested, hire lying witnesses against them, and have them fined, then come to them as friends, pay their fines, and induce them to go to some other town to escape the inevitable gossip of the trial, and there capture them. If the girls complain to an officer and the dive-keeper is brought into court, he offers as his defense that the girl was not of "previous chaste character," and so he escapes punishment.

By a liberal use of money the capitalists induce newspapers to whitewash them, and officers of the law to connive at or even to aid them in their criminal business.

II. In the mistaken notion that the existence of these dance houses im-

proves business, many merchants and others refuse to prosecute these capitalists in crime, and sometimes aid and abet them in their illegal business.

In the city of Marinette, where some of the worst cases have been brought into court, tried, and the dive-keeper proved guilty of the crime charged against him, the jury, composed of some of the best business men of Marinette, while acknowledging the man's guilt, have yet brought in a verdict in court, of "not guilty." The reason of this is plain to be seen, when Miss Bushnell learned that the city of Marinette is mortgaged to Bill Diamond, a notorious dive-keeper, and that many of the business men owe him large sums of borrowed money.

III. Physicians are willing to tolerate and often aid in this iniquity, because it brings practice to them.

In the city of Hurley, while waiting in a physician's office, Doctor Bushnell tore from a pad of blank certificates the following :—

"HURLEY, Wis. — 188—

"I have this day made an examination of Miss —, and find her sexual organs in a healthy condition."

Sometimes the dive-keepers pay for the examination of their inmates, and sometimes the girls pay for their own; in either case, many dollars in fees find their way into the doctor's pocket, and help to quiet his conscience concerning the iniquity practiced in his town.

IV. A certain proportion of Northern Wisconsin, either through fear or policy, will not give evidence or enter into a crusade against this system of crime.

There is some reason for fear. In the town of Commonwealth, Captain Dickenson, aided by his wife, determined to drive a den out of their town, and repeatedly prosecuted the keepers. He was successful in driving them out, but when they went they took the captain's five year old boy with them.

Word is frequently sent to the anguished parents, that for an exorbitant sum of money, far beyond their means, the boy will be returned. Every effort to recover him has thus far been in vain, yet the parents still hear of him occasionally, and know that he is alive.

V. The agents of these capitalists are scouring the country in search of inmates for these dens.

One of them, formerly a minister, but ruined through drink and vice, holds revival meetings in out-of-the-way places for the purpose of getting acquainted with girls, and bringing them to these places. Other means as despicable are practiced by other agents.

VI. A large number of members of the industrial world are being unwittingly and unwillingly turned into the criminal world through the efforts of these procurers.

Many of these women, to be sure, are not women of "previous chaste character." But they were offered work. They go with the procurer intending to work, but are outwitted by the procurer and forced to sin instead. Pitiful stories are told of the heart-breaking disappointment of some of these women, who, tired of a life of sin in some distant town, have come to

Wisconsin on the promise of honest work, full of the hope of redeeming their past lives, and have found themselves forced back into a criminal life, even worse than that from which they so gladly escaped.

VII. But there is abundant evidence that these agents procure young women of chaste life, as well as those lacking previous chaste character.

A poor deaf and dumb girl was brought to Merrill by Le Claire, the former keeper of a den there, and left to wait a time at the railway station. The depot agent telegraphed for her brother, and he came and took her home. This same agent told Dr. Bushnell that it was of frequent occurrence that apparently innocent girls were brought there by these men. Sometimes they disappeared in the den never to return, sometimes they returned in a few days or hours full of indignation at the deception that had been practiced upon them.

VIII. These unwilling inmates are subjected to cruel treatment.

A W. C. T. U. woman saw a woman seeking to escape from one of these dens with a ball and chain attached to her ankle. A keeper of one of the dens near Marinette is in the habit of suspending his mistress by the thumbs sometimes for hours.

The inmates of Le Claire's den were seen rushing out upon the street one day because a wholesale thrashing was being administered. The inmates say that if the woods were searched, many a grave of women murdered by the brutality of these keepers, might be found. In Ashland a woman was murdered by having her clothes saturated with kerosene and set on fire. The keepers of these dens are mostly foreigners, the frequenters are largely foreigners also, and that of the lowest type, while the majority of the inmates are American girls. Sometimes these lumbermen amuse themselves by treading their enormous spiked soles into the delicate slippered feet of the girls they dance with.

It has come to this, that the foreigners are not content to come to this country to improve our splendid resources for making homes and fortunes, they are not content to trample on our Sabbath and monopolize the saloon business, but they must also enslave our girls and subject them to treatment worse than death, that their brutal passions may be gratified and their avaricious hands filled with money from our coffers.

There are other cruelties which these girls suffer, that are too indecent to be mentioned in print, yet delicate American girls have to *suffer* them.

IX. These women are literal slaves in that they are forced to acquire property for others and not for themselves.

Some of the more generous dive-keepers pay their girls something, and occasionally girls do make money, but the sum they make is out of all proportion to the amount made by their employers. Generally, girls dance for their board and are offered one half the proceeds of their sin, less fines. When a girl arrives at the den she finds her own traveling expenses and frequently those of her procurer charged to her. She is also charged for the costumes she is obliged to wear, and if from sickness or disgust she refuses to see any man who asks for her she is fined the same amount she

would have received had she accepted the man's visit. Thus in one night's sickness the girl's scanty income of months may be swept away in fines, simply because men ask for her. The employers take advantage of the law which forbids the collection of money as wages of crime, and sometimes flatly refuse to pay the girls the money they have promised them.

X. These young women who have been taken out of the industrial world are very generally compelled to remain in the criminal world.

They are compelled to do so through fines, intimidation and force on the part of the den-keepers and connivance or local coöperation on the part of local officials. In cases where they succeed in escaping, local officials compel them to return.

Many instances are cited by Dr. Bushnell where girls escaping from these dens have appealed to officers of the law for protection, and have been betrayed back into the den-keeper's hands.

Even some Christian women in this northern country argue that these places are necessary to protect *them* from insult, and discourage any effort to start a crusade against them. Others fear that a general exposure of the iniquity of these places might criminate their own husbands or sons, and so keep silence, thus consenting that other women should be kept slaves that *they* and *theirs* may escape.

Dr. Bushnell declares that the only possible cure for this evil is a general uprising of decent women, and a clamorous and persistent demand on their part for the protection of *all* women, that thus these northern communities may be shamed out of allowing them to exist.

The N. W. C. T. U. Convention, after hearing Dr. Bushnell's report, passed the following resolution:—

WHEREAS, We have listened with painful interest to the account of atrocities perpetrated against womanhood in the dens of iniquity in Northern Wisconsin, as investigated and reported to the convention by Dr. Kate C. Bushnell, Evangelist of the White Cross and White Shield Department,

Resolved, That we hereby commend the thoroughness of her work and the Christian spirit in which it was done, believing it entirely worthy of credence, and we desire to refer this report to the Wisconsin W. C. T. U., commending them for their labors in the past, and pledging our coöperation in future efforts for the better protection of women.

The entire report will be published in the organ of the Wisconsin W. C. T. U., and measures will then be taken to petition the legislature for better laws for the protection of woman, and to keep up an unremitting warfare until Wisconsin's shame is wiped out.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE result of the election of 1888 gives to the Republican party the presidency and the control of both houses of Congress. It is now within the power of the victorious political organization to do what it has blamed its rival for not doing. The Republican party can, if it will, defend the freedmen of the South in the exercise of their civil and political rights, secure a fair degree of protection for American labor, and promote in good faith the cause of civil service reform. The responsibility of the party is as great as its power. All that it is safe to predict, however, is that the Republican organization will do its best to keep the place it has won. North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington Territory are likely to make four new States and to add eight votes to the Republican side of the Senate before the new administration has gone far on its unimpeded course. These changes would probably make it possible for the Republican party to succeed in the presidential election of 1892, even if it were to lose the vote of the State of New York.

The Prohibition party has conducted an educational campaign of great value. It has increased its vote from 150,000 to nearly 250,000. With half a million votes, this organization, in closely contested national elections, would hold the balance of power. The greatest curse of the republic is the sovereignty of the saloon in politics. Conscientious public sentiment is slowly rising to the level of the declaration of the Methodist Church that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin. No rumrunner can now be admitted to membership in the Presbyterian Church. The schools of twenty-eight States and Territories are under laws requiring compulsory education in the latest truths of science concerning temperance. Unless the dominant political organization grapples with the giant mischief of the liquor traffic, there ought to be in four years such a growth of the Independent and the Prohibition vote as to defeat any national party that remains in bondage to the saloon. It is evidently the policy of the liquor syndicates to extend their power over both the great national parties. It will be found, however, as we believe, that no political party in the American republic can be permanently preserved in whiskey.

The official vote of all the States for 1884 and 1888 is published by "The Independent," in the following highly suggestive table :—

	1888.			1884.		
	Dem.	Rep.	Proh.	Dem.	Rep.	Proh.
Alabama.....	117,310	57,197	583	93,951	59,591	612
Arkansas.....	85,962	58,752	614	72,927	50,895	
California.....	117,729	124,809	5,761	89,288	102,416	2,920
Colorado.....	87,567	50,774	1,265	27,728	86,290	761
Connecticut.....	74,920	74,584	4,284	67,199	65,923	2,305
Delaware.....	16,478	12,914	401	16,964	12,951	55
Florida.....	89,651	26,659	403	31,766	28,031	72
Georgia.....	100,499	40,496	1,800	94,667	48,608	195
Illinois.....	348,272	370,478	22,201	312,355	337,474	12,074
Indiana.....	261,013	263,361	9,981	244,990	238,463	3,028
Iowa.....	179,877	211,598	3,550	177,318	197,089	1,472
Kansas.....	102,541	182,502	6,452	90,132	154,406	4,495
Kentucky.....	183,800	155,184	5,525	152,961	118,122	3,189
Louisiana.....	85,032	30,701	130	62,540	46,347	
Maine.....	50,481	73,784	2,691	52,140	72,209	2,160
Maryland.....	106,168	99,966	4,760	96,932	85,699	2,794
Massachusetts.....	151,855	183,962	8,701	122,481	146,724	10,026
Michigan.....	213,404	236,370	20,942	149,835	192,669	18,403
Minnesota.....	99,664	136,359	15,000	70,144	111,923	4,634
Mississippi.....	85,476	30,096	218	76,510	43,509	
Missouri.....	261,954	236,253	4,954	235,968	202,929	2,153
Nebraska.....	80,552	108,425	9,429	54,391	76,912	2,899
Nevada.....	5,149	7,068	41	5,578	7,198	
New Hampshire.....	43,457	45,735	1,570	39,183	43,249	1,571
New Jersey.....	151,493	144,344	7,904	127,798	123,440	6,159
New York.....	635,965	650,358	30,231	563,154	562,005	25,016
North Carolina.....	147,902	134,784	2,787	142,962	125,068	454
Ohio.....	396,455	416,054	24,356	368,280	400,082	11,069
Oregon.....	26,524	33,293	1,677	24,604	26,860	492
Pennsylvania.....	446,934	526,223	20,756	392,785	473,804	15,283
Rhode Island.....	17,533	21,900	1,281	12,391	19,030	963
South Carolina.....	65,825	13,736	380	69,890	21,733	
Tennessee.....	158,789	138,889	5,909	133,258	124,078	1,131
Texas.....	234,883	88,280	4,416	225,809	93,141	3,534
Vermont.....	16,789	45,192	1,497	17,331	39,514	1,752
Virginia.....	151,979	150,438	1,678	145,497	139,356	138
West Virginia.....	79,330	78,491	500	67,317	63,066	939
Wisconsin.....	155,232	176,553	14,277	146,459	161,157	7,656
Total.....	5,534,453	5,436,627	248,815	4,874,966	4,851,961	150,899
Plurality.....	97,826			23,005		

The increase of Mr. Cleveland's plurality of 23,005 in 1884 to 97,826 in 1888 is a serious sign of the times. The Democratic party is in bondage to the whiskey syndicates of the great cities. Nevertheless, such is the subserviency of the people to the power of the saloon in politics that Mr. Cleveland receives nearly 100,000 more votes than his rival. The attitude of the Republican party, however, was not generally regarded by the liquor dealers themselves as a menace to the saloons.

In view of the heavy plurality for Mr. Cleveland, it is hardly safe to say that Republican principles concerning Protection and Free Trade received decisive popular indorsement in the last election. Harrison is elected by the operation of the rule which gives the whole electoral vote of a State to the party that has a majority in it. The president-elect owes his position to an electoral and not to a popular majority.

It will be noticed that in the northern tier of Southern States, both the Republican and the Democratic vote has increased. This indicates that the blacks as well as the whites in those States, with few exceptions, have had their votes counted. But in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, the republican vote has greatly diminished and the Democratic increased since 1884. This result gives just ground for the suspicion that probably many thousands of negro votes were suppressed by violence or fraud in the chief of the Gulf States. It will be the duty, as it is certainly now within the power of the victorious Republican party, to see that the number of representatives in Congress from States in which freedmen's rights have been outraged is cut down in proportion to the extent of all returns that can be proved to be fraudulent.

Our conviction is that a reading test for the suffrage is the best way out of the perils of the illiterate vote among both freedmen and poor whites. South Carolina is discussing now the propriety of such a limitation of her state suffrage. A test of this kind, which ought to be universally adopted, would not ultimately diminish the number of negro votes, but would go far toward causing them to be counted. It would immensely stimulate the cause of education in the South and lessen the yet dangerous social and political friction between the two races.

THE editor of our Department of Church Work, having secured in October, as already noted, the indorsement of the International Convention of Locomotive Engineers to his petition to Congress for a law forbidding Sunday work in the government's mail and military service and in interstate commerce, presented the same cause in November to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, and secured another unanimous and enthusiastic indorsement. The petition was also indorsed the same week, with the same unanimity by the National Sabbath Union, which was constituted by official action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Churches, north and south, the Baptist Home Missionary Association, and the Synod of the Reformed Church. The total membership of these churches, as given by the "Independent," July 26, 1888, is 5,827,295. This indorsement has been duplicated by the direct approval of the petition by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, by the State Sabbath-school Conventions of New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Kansas, Indiana, Dakota. In all these States these denominations are largely represented — and this is true also of the N. W. C. T. U., which has both indorsed and pushed the petition. Hundreds of presbyteries, conferences, and individual

churches connected with the above denominations have taken the same action, so that it may fairly be said that the members of the churches named are all representatively petitioners for a Sunday Rest Law. Enough Christians of other denominations have already indorsed the bill in the union conventions named and otherwise to make the number of the army of church petitioners, six millions. The unanimity with which the petition has been indorsed by Christians of all denominations to whom it has been presented makes it clear that the proposed law is also in accord with the convictions of the other six millions of evangelical Christians to whom it has not yet been presented. Indeed, the petition is in accord with the express sentiments of the Roman Catholic Plenary Council and the Liberal churches also. The labor organizations have only recently taken the matter up, but those which have unanimously indorsed the bill have a membership of a quarter of a million, and represent, it cannot be doubted, the general sentiment of nearly all workmen in this matter. Surely Congress ought to hasten to pass a law on which churches and workmen, the two chief forces of our country, are so remarkably united.

The statistics of this subject are equally conclusive from another point of view. The Census of 1880 reported the number engaged in all kinds of occupations as 17,392,099. A careful estimate, by consideration of each occupation in detail, gives fourteen and a quarter million as the proportion of this number who could habitually rest on Sunday. Of the balance, about sixteen hundred were engaged in such work as is, in part at least, considered work of religion, mercy, and necessity. If, beyond this, those at work on Sunday horse cars are deducted, though we do not concede their Sunday work to be necessary, there still remain fifty thousand more than a million and a half whose Sunday work is wholly indefensible, chiefly work directly or indirectly connected with rum, railroads, newspapers, tobacco, and the government's mail and military service. All of these except the last are the very departments which have been increasing most rapidly; and their eight years of growth, since the Census, must carry their numbers up to a round two millions. These two millions of Sabbathless slaves should receive from Congress immediate emancipation from their Egyptian bondage. Even those who under the shield of permission for works of mercy and necessity are made to do so much unnecessary work on Sunday as wives, servants, doctors and undertakers, would be helped by the indirect influence of a National Sunday Rest Law. This would make it easier to get the state laws needed, including a Six-days Law, for the protection of a class hitherto neglected by all Sunday laws, forbidding any one to hire another or to be hired for more than six days in any one week, except in domestic service and the case of the sick. Thus those whom law or custom permits to work on Sunday may be protected in their right to some other weekly rest day, and in their right to a week's wages for six days' work.

CHRISTIAN men should not be in haste to join the hue and cry raised by politicians and capitalists against the Knights of Labor. Whatever mis-

takes local assemblies have made, it is a matter for public congratulation that the order keeps at its head so conservative and Christian a leader as Mr. Powderley, and continues to hold up a knightly Christian ideal in its name and declaration of principles and in its constitution. The knighthood stands for purity, courage, and unselfishness. The leader stands for total abstinence, and for arbitration in place of hasty strikes. The constitution excludes rumsellers, and, by its further exclusion of lawyers, rebukes even the courts for tolerating rascals and unjust delays of justice. Among its knightly principles are prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age, and the payment to both sexes of equal wages for equal work. The knights seek to secure postal banks, government control of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones; to establish coöperative shops; to put arbitration in place of strikes; to have taxes graduated by income — indeed there are few principles in their ideal which are not in the platform of the chief Christian reformers of the day. In working toward such an ideal they should have only kindly criticism from those who believe, with Hon. Carroll D. Wright of the National Bureau of Labor, “that in the adoption of the philosophy of the religion of Jesus Christ, as a practical creed for the conduct of business, lies the surest and speediest solution of those industrial difficulties which are exciting the minds of men to-day, and leading many to think that the crisis of government is at hand.”

At the recent Convention of Christian Workers attention was called to the new departure of Hartford Theological Seminary — a new departure not from theology, but into evangelism. The presence of a delegate from a theological seminary at a convention of revivalists and city missionaries was itself novel. The following paragraph from the recent inaugural of President Hartman was given as the key-note of the new regime: “This seminary stands for the ethical as well as divine aim of all science, for the development of the kingdom by the elevation of men in spirit, soul, and body. It commits itself to use all results of research, education, and publication to this end. It enters actively into the field for the rehabilitation of society and the state, after the Christian ideal. It would not remain aloof from any agency that would foster such reformation; it desires to put itself into fellowship with living movements; with missionary enterprises, foreign, home, and city; with religious educational activities; with all forms of labor that exemplify practically our human brotherhood and the Divine filiation. It would help in research as to these matters; it wishes to yield scientific fruit therein; it needs the joy and blessing of deeds. It refuses to be a hermitage or a monastery; it declines living an isolated life; it longs to be with men, and in men, and for men, as we hope it is through, in, and for God.” Evidently Hartford is not to be a “Geological Cemetery” of fossils, nor a “Zoological Seminary” of controversialists. In application of the above principles, Dr. Graham Taylor, the experienced city missionary of Hartford, was called to the Chair of Practical Theology. His inaugural is full of words that are half-battles, like those quoted from

his chief. Why should not "men of wealth," as President Hartranft suggests, "do for Christian theology what is being done for non-Christian institutions the land over," such as Johns Hopkins University, by endowing this and other living institutions of theology for research, teaching, and publication in all sciences as parts of theology, since God made all things with ethical and religious ends in view ?

SEVENTEEN thousand women, in spite of very inclement weather, actually voted in Boston, December 11th. The results were extremely fortunate. A school board nominated by the brave and patriotic Protestant Committee of One Hundred was triumphantly elected. Jesuit opposition to American schools was effectually rebuked. The Protestant women voters outnumbered the Catholic. The Republican candidate for the mayoralty defeated a Democratic and Irish Catholic candidate, now the incumbent of the office. There was marked decorum at the polls. In the roughest wards, both parties carefully protected female voters from annoyance. The result is an argument in favor of female municipal suffrage, as well as a victory over foreign interference with the management of American public schools.

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